ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

REPORT

OF

A TOUR THROUGH BEHAR, CENTRAL INDIA, PESHAWAR, AND YUSUFZAI

IN

1881-82

BY

H. B. W. GARRICK



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H. B. W. GARRICK,

ASSISTANT, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA,

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF

MAJOR-GENERAL A. CUNNINGHAM, C.S.I., C.I.E.,

ROYAL ENGINEERS [BENGAL RETIRED],

DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

VOLUME XIX.

"What is aimed at is an accurate description, illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are preserved regarding them." — LORD CANNING.

"What the learned world demand of us in India is to be quite certain of our data, to place the monumental record before them exactly as it now exists, and to interpret it faithfully and literally." — JAMES PRINSEP.



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PREFACE.

DURING the cold season of 1881-82, Mr. Garrick made a tour through the district of Shahabad, for the purpose of photographing and exploring the old temples at Mârkandi, Mahadeopur, and Barnârak. He then visited the old sites of Bhojpur and Darowli in Western Shahabad, where he found numerous square monoliths, which Dr. Buchanan thought must have been the work of the aborigines. He next crossed the Ganges to explore the remains of an old Buddhist monastery at Barmâyan, which I had proposed to identify with the monastery built by Maharaja Sri Gupta for the use of the Chinese pilgrims who visited India.

He then visited the territory of Rewa, for the purpose of exploring the ruins of the ancient city of Gûrgi. In the northern hills he found an inscription of Maharaja Gânggeya Deva, the Kalachuri chief of Tripura, contemporary with Mahmud of Ghazni.

As the Punjab Government just at this time had sanctioned the employment of a Company of Sappers for explorations in the Yusufzai district, I took the opportunity to depute Mr. Garrick to see the excavations, and to explore certain sites which had hitherto remained unvisited. He was particularly instructed to examine the old mounds about Hashtnagar and Chârsada, which are the remains of the famous old city of *Peukelaotis*, or Pushkalavati. He was also instructed to obtain photographs of the great rock inscription of Asoka at Shâhbâzgarhi.

The present report gives the result of Mr. Garrick's first complete tour as an assistant of the Archæological Survey, and I think that it promises well for his future success. Some

of his deductions and derivations are perhaps too strongly and positively stated, and may be open to modification and correction, but I have thought it better to let them remain than to alter them, and to make this report a mere echo of my own opinions.

A. CUNNINGHAM.

CONTENTS.

Complementary copy receiving through D.G.

PLATES.



ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

REPORT OF A TOUR THROUGH BEHAR, CENTRAL INDIA, PESHAWAR AND YUSUFZAI IN 1881-82.

INTRODUCTION.

DURING the cold season of 1881-82 I travelled 3,450 miles, 750 of which were marched, the remaining 2,700 miles being traversed by rail.

Introduction.

Forty-one places of archæological interest have been visited, 9 inscriptions discovered, and 60 photographs, besides divers plans and drawings, have been prepared; of these, a selection is made to illustrate this volume.

Starting from Simla on the 1st of August 1881, I visited a few places of interest in the neighbourhood of Delhi, Agra, Fattehpur, &c., proceeding simultaneously towards Shâhâbâd (Behâr) in order to examine several ancient sites extending over the country from the western banks of the Sôn river to Banâras east and west, and from the Ghogra river to Sassaram north and south. Having examined the most noteworthy remains existing within the above limits, I proceeded to Allahabad, and thence, in accordance with instructions received from the Director General of the Archæological Survey, marched southward in order to explore certain places in the State of Rewa Khâss (Bâghelkhand), from the Political Agent of which territory I received, in answer to my letter of enquiry dated 5th December, full permission to carry on any excavations that may appear necessary to my researches. I also received much valuable assistance from the officers of the Rewa Darbar.

From Bâghelkhand I proceeded almost direct to Peshawar, and, on the lines indicated in a memorandum from General Cunningham to the Secretary to Government in the Department of Public Works (an extract of which was supplied to me), explored many early sites lying betwixt the Khûdokhêl territory and Hashtnagar east and west, and between the Bûnîr frontier and Atak north and south, crossing the British frontier to the north and east respectively, and closing my season's work on the 20th of May 1882 with a visit to Rûhmia, near Haji Shâh.

1.—DEO-MÂRKANDIH.

(*See Plate II.*)

Deo-Mârkandih.

The village called *Deo-Mârkandih* is situated 37 miles to the south, a little west of Arra, and is approached, to within a few miles, by the irrigation canal emanating at the first-named place. The journey by steamer from Arra to Danvâr (one of the many locks through which it passes) is to be accomplished in ten hours, and from Danvâr, Deo-Mârkandih is about 7 miles south-south-west.

Derivation of name.

The name of this village is derived from that of the Brâhmanical saint *Deo-Mârkanda*, who is reputed to have lived in about the middle part of the iron age (*kâli-yûga*). He is also credited with the erection of the principal temple here, called to this day "the temple of Deo-Mârkanda," and this building, as I have before suggested, is doubtless the source whence the adjacent village derives the name *Deo-Mârkandih*, which, with the simple addition of *dih*, the common Persian word for any village, renders that of the Brâhman elder very closely.

Condition of remains.

Of this temple there now only remains a huge mass of débris and potsherds, the upper portion of the structure having been wholly demolished and its basement buried in its ruins.

Age of remains.

The fabulous age assigned to the temple of *Deo-Mârkanda* by the resident *Brâhmans* and *Pûrânias* of this neighbourhood is 217,780 years, no doubt because this figure coincides fairly, though not exactly, with the period above stated as that in which the saint lived, *i.e.*, about the middle of the iron age, which, according to the Hindû chronicles, comprises 435,101 years, and the apparent nicety with which the various portions of the legendary history of this temple are made to "fit into each other"—if I may use the expression—is noteworthy, as characteristic of the crafty invention of that arch-imposter the village *pânda*.

Population.

The populous village of *Deo-Mârkandih* almost adjoins that of *Deo-Pârsa*, and contains about 120 houses, inhabited by the following castes:—

Castes.	Houses.	Castes.	Houses.
Brâhmans	43	Ahîrs or Gavâlas . .	15
Koërs	12	Banias	2
Lâlas or Patwârîs . . .	7	Dusâds	6
Kandû Bhanjwârs (or sorters of grain)	3	Lohârs (ironsmiths) . .	3
Thelîs	2	Inferior castes about the outskirts of village . . .	15
Bhâvans	13	Total number of dwellings .	120

Deo-Pârsa.

The village of *Deo-Pârsa* is somewhat larger than that of *Deo-Mârkandih*, and its population consists for the most part of *Kshetrîs*, of whom a number claim to be Râjpûts of the following sects: *Ujâin*, *Besin*, *Paliwâr*, *Bhûtâpri*, *Kakan*, *Dhákahâ*, *Vias*, and *Sankawâr* Râjpûts.

The branch irrigation canal here is very popular among the agricultural classes, who all agree that the crops, since its construction, have been greatly enhanced, as, owing to the

excessively high ground in this part of the country, it was formerly a difficult matter to water the fields when the rains failed them, whereas now they are to a certain degree independent of weather influences, and can reckon with more certainty upon the yearly outturn.

Deo-Mârkanda's temple.

The principal archæological features of this place are the ruins of two Brâhmanical temples and an old tank called *Sûrûj-pokhra*. The oldest of these temples, called *Deo-Mârkanda-ka-shivâla,* after the patron saint of this vicinity, by whom it is supposed to have been built,[1] is at present represented by a mound of brick ruins, containing also fragments of stone architecture, *e.g.*, carved architraves and uprights, plynths, &c.; also a number of figures, mostly sculptured in blue stone, belonging to the worship of the gods, lay strewn about in all directions.

Remains on mound.

Dimensions of mound.

The mound upon which these two temples stand measures from north to south 200 feet, and from east to west 120 feet, and is about 25 feet higher near its centre than the surrounding country.

The Sun Temple.

Sûrûj-shivâla, or, "the Sun Temple," as the smaller temple is styled, is obviously a much later structure, of brick-work alone, being built on the ruins of the *Deo-Mârkanda* shrine. It is roofless, and stands towards the south-west corner of the mound formed by the remains of the larger temple, and I found many of its bricks to be identical in size and shape to those of the *Deo-Mârkanda-Mandir*; showing clearly that it was at least partially raised from the materials obtained from the remains of its larger and more ancient companion.

Dimensions of Sun Temple.

The only chamber of the *Sûrûj* temple now extant and above ground measures 10 feet 3 inches by 9 feet 6 inches inside, and the highest part of its existing walls is 7 feet 3 inches above

[1] See Plate II for a view of this temple after excavation.

the present surface of the mound on which it stands. It is, however, to a great extent buried amongst the remains.[1]

Gateways of minor buildings.

At the southern end of the mound I found a number of entrance architraves of granite *in situ*. Only the top portions of these are at present visible for 1 foot 7 inches above the surface; and, as these entrances must have been at least 4½ feet high, the basement of the buildings to which they belong would be nearly or exactly on a level with the floor of the greater temple of *Deo-Márkanda*, and therefore must belong to the same period, and when the temple began to fall into decay in the course of time, have become overwhelmed in its débris, with the exception of these few sashes, which still show their heads The mound extends, in a scattered form of heaps of potsherds, to nearly 100 feet outside the limits of the *ruins* properly so called. This can be partly accounted for by the extreme height of the principal temple when it was intact; but more evidence is requisite, as a single temple, however high it may have been, could never furnish such a mass of brick-bats, &c. Moreover, it must be remembered that these are merely the *remnant* after-ages of appropriation for building purposes. Therefore, I infer that we must look to the buildings belonging to, and indicated by, the stone lintels before mentioned for the required additional source whence the solid brick mound of *Deo-Márkanda* was formed. On close examination, as I expected, the lintels proved to belong to entirely separate cells, possibly for the accommodation of

Ancient cells.

priests, not being in any way connected with the temple of *Deo-Márkanda*, and obviously being *demolished* long prior to the *erection* of *Súrúj-shivála*, wholly unconnected with that building either. Hence I conclude that, besides merely two temples and an ancient *sroor*, we have at *Deo-Márkandih* the remains of a complete religious establishment, including a

[1] See Archæological Survey—Vol. XIV—Plates XIX and XX, for my map of Deo-Márkanda, and Plan and Section of Temple.—*A. Cunningham.*

Remains of Brâhmanical colony.

sufficient number of detached dwellings for a regular colony of priests of whatever denomination.

Origin of the Sûrûj-pokhra.

The adjoining tank, called *Sûrûj-pokhra* or *Sûrûj-tâl*, which lies at a distance of about 80 feet from the façade of the temple of that name, was evidently dug by the founder of the larger shrine, probably a certain Brâhmana *Bhikkshu* or *Mûni* called *Deo-Mârkanda*, its traditional founder. This statement I will endeavour to support presently. The water of this tank is locally believed to have the power of averting evil when applied to the image of *Sûrûj-devatâ*, or, "the Sun God," enshrined in the smaller temple, and, before worshipping here, the votaries of *Sûrûj-nârâina* carry with them some of the water, with which they lave the figure.

This temple (now entirely roofless), however, has but few followers, and their visits are seldom more frequent than twice or thrice in the week. But the temple at present popular amongst the mahâjan classes is a small modern structure which stands about 115 yards to the north-west of the *Deo-Mârkanda* mound, and contains a very curious figure in bas-relief of *Dûrgâ*, with the cup of blood in hand, the prostrate

Dûrgâ and Raktvîja.

figure of *Raktvîja*, whom she has just slain, under foot. The figure is the usual *Chatarbhoj*, or "four-armed" representation of the goddess, holding in one hand the *tirsûl*, "trident," and the other upraised hand holds a knife; the vessel before alluded to is in the second left hand, and with the lower right hand she presses on the prostrate male figure under foot. The back-ground of this sculpture is formed of the heads of five serpents, like the *Jáin* figure on the monolith at *Kahaon*, only that the latter is canopied by seven serpents in lieu of five, as shown in plate.

Modern Linga temple.

There are also other unimportant sculptures in this small and favourite temple near *Deo-Mârkandih*, which stands under the deep shade of a fine *Pâkar* tree, *e.g.*, a broken representation

of a Brâhmani bull (*nandi*), a figure of *Pârasrâm* (the fifth incarnation of Vishnû), &c. The temple is devoted to the worship of *Mahadev*, and necessarily this deity's symbol, the lingam (*pindi*), is the object adored here, and the above figures are only, as the attendant *Bhagat* candidly informed me, for display (*phalât*).

This temple was built by Bâbû Baîjnâth Singh, a *Palîwâr* Râjpût, and is about a century old. The Bâbû was *zamîndâr*, or *râibhât*, of this village, and a courtier of the then *Râjâ* of Dûmraon. He was also a very successful agriculturist, and retired to *Barâon*, a village situated 11 miles south-south-west of *Deo-Mârkandih*, in the latter part of the XVIIIth century. The natives attribute a series of bad crops, experienced in the early part of the present century, to the absence of his excellent management. These sparse harvests caused large numbers to emigrate to *Agni*, a village but a few miles south-west of *Deo-Mârkandih*, and called also *Mednipûr*. This village is inhabited by the sect known as *Dhakahâr* Râjpûts, and it is quite possible the small village of *Agni*, here referred to, derived its name from the famous tribe of *Agnikûl*, or, "Fire-race," for besides Rajputs there are a few, though very few, *Kshetris* resident at *Agni* or *Mednipur*. Regarding these "fire-sprung races," General Cunningham is of opinion that "the Chohâns alone were fabled to have sprung from fire."[1]

Emigration to Agni.

The Agnikûl.

The name of *Agni* is a common one for the villages and tolas in this neighbourhood.

On my arrival at *Deo-Mârkandih* I found the mound partially excavated, a well having been sunk in the south-west corner of the inner chamber, which chamber measures 9 feet 7 inches square; and I learned from the villagers that some of the statues lying on the mound's surface were unearthed by this excavation, notably a largish figure of *Vishnû*, 3 feet 3 inches

[1] See Archæological Reports, p. 254, vol. II, for an account of this fabulous race.

high and broad in proportion. I also noticed, peeping a few inches above the débris and facing due east, what looked like two flat, elaborately carved posts, but, when wholly exhumed, proved to be the gateway of the great temple *minus* its lintel. These uprights are superbly sculptured in dark-coloured blue stone, and measure 5 feet 2 inches high, which gives us exactly the height of this entrance from threshold to lintel. I continued these excavations, but in a few days abandoned the inner chamber, the south-west corner of which I completely excavated, and commenced removing the vast mass of ruins in front and obscuring the façade of the building.

Excavations, &c.

This heap of remains formed almost the entire half of the mound, the temple being situated somewhat to the west. The sculptured entrance gateway before mentioned exhibits exquisite passages of sculptured ornamentation supported at base by four standing human figures. My object in laying bare the eastern aspect of this temple thus thoroughly, was to obtain an elevation of the structure, from which a restoration to scale might be prepared after collecting sufficient architectural details to suggest the design and dimensions of this edifice as when intact, but it was subsequently found that, owing to the extreme paucity of existing materials as guides, such a restoration would be wholly unsatisfactory.

Sculptured entrance.

The *Shivála* of *Deo-Márkanda* had originally a court-yard, *chárdavâlí*, built of massive brick-work, traces of which I came upon during my excavations of the mound. I was thus enabled to measure the portico, after clearing out the court-yard, with the following results:—

Dimensions of court-yard of large temple.

The wall from north to south, including the space formerly occupied by the gateway, measures 13 feet; and from east to west, 26 feet; from the centre portions unbroken I made out a general thickness of wall of 2½ feet.

The people here say that for many generations a very fine *Kadam* tree (*Nauclea Orientalis*) stood on the south-west

corner of the *dih*, and they seem to think that after the death, of late years, of a certain *bâbâ,* or ascetic, who was an admirer of the tree and cherished it, through neglect it perished. During my excavations I came upon the withered stump of just such a tree, which, the people assured me, died before the memory of their fathers, and was only remembered by hearsay. I was also told of a well having existed within the limits of this mound, and upon removing the surface, found it as it was described, though of course completely filled up and hidden from the general view.

Discovery of ancient tree and well.

The story which seeks to explain the origin of *Sûrûj-mandir*, or, "the Sun Temple," now standing on the mound of *Deo-Mârkanda,* is: that some children of cow-herds from the adjacent village were accustomed to assemble within the *chârdawâli* of the great temple for the purpose of recreation, and that on one occasion during the seasonal rains, while playing together at the common game of marbles, one of the lads uncovered what seemed to him a mere stone, but, on digging up the spot, proved to be an image of *Sûrûj-nârâina*, or, " the sun deity." When the sculpture was completely exhumed and shown to the zemindar at that time (about 150 years, or three generations back) presiding in this village, he caused a suitable temple to be built for it, in which the votaries of *Sûrûjnârâina* could worship. It is related also that this temple was called after the image *Sûrûj-kâ-Mandir*, and is no other than that now standing abreast of *Deo-Mârkanda-kâ-Shivâla*. I saw this image in the smaller shrine, and it measures 2 feet 10 inches high and represents 'a squatted male figure with halo round his head: the figure is poorly, and even clumsily executed.

Origin of Sûrûj Temple.

Discovery of Sûrûjnârâina's image.

After the two examples before given (*i.e.*, the tree and well being situated 'on the mound) of the veracity of local tradition here in general, and of that local tradition when it does not deal with chronology in particular, I think there is no apparent reason to discredit this last story of the

discovery of the sun image, and if we accept it, four points of information are at once furnished to us: 1st, that the *Sûrûj* temple was *built* on the *ruins* of that of *Deo-Mârkanda*, and is at most 200 years old; 2nd, that the Sûrûj tank (which, besides its obvious antiquity, figures in the earliest traditions of this neighbourhood now preserved by the people) cannot possibly be coeval with the temple of that name, and, therefore, could not have derived the title *Sûrûj-pokhra* from this temple; 3rd, that the principal temple here, at a period of its existence, and most probably the very earliest, was devoted to sun-worship; and 4th, that, being a sun temple, the adjoining ancient tank, called *Sûrûj-sroor*, was almost certainly excavated *by its founder*: hence the name of *Shivâla*, with the mere prefix of its founder, is clearly wrong, its proper and original name being simply *Sûrûj-mandir*, for, as this idol was found *inside* the court-yard of the *Deo-Mârkanda* temple, there can be little doubt that it formerly occupied a place in this building, and that its name was given to the adjoining tank, as it is not at all probable that the tank (the excavation of which I would attribute to a period, if not coeval with the great temple, even prior to its erection) can belong to the time when the small sun temple was built, as this is comparatively a modern structure. The following legend is one of many in which a very remote antiquity is assigned to the *Sûrûj-pokhra*, and, as it treats of the ancient topography of this neighbourhood, I will give it in its current form further on. In the meantime it is quite possible that after the temple of *Deo-Mârkanda* fell into disuse and the *Sûrûj-nârâina* disappeared in its débris, the ruined building assumed the common title of *Shivâla* qualified by its founder's name, but that of the tank, *Sûrûj-pokhra*, still clung to it unchanged. On the other hand, since the Brâhmans insist that the large temple was originally a linga temple of *Rûdr*, it may be conceded that the introduction of the sun image here may belong to a secondary epoch, though still possibly during the life-time of the saint *Deo-Mârkanda*, and not necessarily long

Original use and name of temples, tank, &c.

after the erection; it must be maintained, however, that the tank belongs essentially to the great temple, being totally unconnected with the smaller one, and, if we allow that the larger temple was not primarily called *Sûrûj-mandir*, the tank, even before the introduction of this image, may have been called simply *Deo-Mârkanda-kâ-Khûnd*, or, "Deo-Mârkanda's tank," after the founder of the temple for which I thoroughly believe it was excavated, and some of the more intelligent Brâhmans bear me out in this opinion, though the majority are misled by the present agreement of name between the small, late, roofless temple and the tank. It will be observed from the following legend that the "Sun tank" was originally of much larger dimensions than at present, and that it was necessary to use boats in order to approach the temple from the south-east. It extends even now over a considerable area of ground, being about 950 feet long from its north-east to south-west extremities, but very shallow generally, having more the appearance of a marsh than tank.

Length of *Sûrûj-pokhra.*

Popular tradition connects the mound of *Deo-Mârkanda* (the remains of what I consider to have been a regular Brâhmanical settlement including dwellings, temples, trees, and wells) with *Bhagnâha-garh*, which is said to comprise the palace of the famous king of the *Chêra-Kharwâra* tribe, *Râja Phûlchand*, together with his fort and city. The following is the legend as told by the people: At the period when *Deo Mârkandih* and its neighbourhood was a wild forest (*ban*) inhabited only by birds and beasts and wild animals, the pious Rishi *Deo-Sârma-Har-Sârma* performed penance by night and day, and, burning lamps and incense, made offerings of flowers from the *bel* tree (*Ægle Marmelos*), consecrated food, unbroken rice, betel-leaves, and nuts at this temple. The king *Phûlchand*, in order to discover and reward the worshipper whose offerings he frequently saw on this shrine, having come from his palace by boat,[1] entered the temple one day by

Legendary history.

[1] The *Sûruj-pokhra* is said to have extended at that time over a large tract of country, and hence the temple was only accessible by boat from *Bhagnâha-gad.*

stealth, and without the usual royal ceremonies, and surprised the *Rekhi* in the act of meditating on *Rûdra* (Mahâdeo). Raja *Phûlchand*, after ascertaining that the holy *Deo-Sârma-Har-Sârma* was the devotee he sought, and, being much pleased, commanded him to ask for whatsoever he wished, promising that any boon would be instantly granted. Thereupon the holy man, standing upon the summit of the great temple sounded his shell (*sankh*)[1] and claimed from the Râjâ an area of ground extending as far around as the sound of his *sankh* had penetrated; this proved to be no less than 2,222 bighas, which land was accordingly made over to the saintly *Deo-Sârma-Har-Sârma* and his posterity in perpetuity as a *Jâgir* by the Râjâ *Phûlchand*. The Brâhmans assign the following limits to this grant of land—from *Chowrâsi* to *Nânû* east and west, and from *Kârath* to *Nowadih* north and south. Certain classes of the Brâhmans in this part of the country claim to be lineally descended from *Deo-Sârma-Har-Sârma*, in whom they devoutly believe, and the name of *Sârma* is common among the Behâris, who being, in this vicinity, *Hâr-bhagaths*, or votaries of Hâr, another name for the shaivite deity *Mahâdeo*, may be said to be called after the saint's full name; there is also a small village hard by called *Surma*, which I believe to be merely a corruption of *sarma*, as it is not probable that they would name a village "antimony." I certainly did not hear of the existence of any mines productive of that ore.

BHAGNÂHAGARH.

Bhagnâhagarh.

Situated about 1 mile south of the village of *Deo-Mârkandih*, are the remains of a fort, palace, and *bazâr*, which ruins are now collectively called *Bhagnâhagarh*.

These remains are distinguishable only by the eminence of the land over which they are spread, and, extending as this

[1] The *sánkh* is also a long, twisted bugle, formed something like our cornucopia; but this instrument is mostly used to head processions and ceremonies, being blown at regular intervals. The *shell sánkh* more particularly pertains to Hindû temples, though the shell occasionally gives place to the bugle *sánkh*, and is used by the priests.

eminence does over an area of more than a quarter of a mile, there can be no doubt that this *garh* must once have been an imposing city, whether the buildings were designed for purposes of fortification or as palatial residences.

This low mound measures, from east to west, about a quarter of a mile, and this includes the spaces traditionally allotted to the *Bhagnâha bazâr*, fort, and palace of the Râjâ *Phûlchand*. The *bazâr* is said to have stood to the east of the mound, or on that portion which is lowest. The fort or stronghold more to the west occupied the centre of the eminence, and the Râjâ's private residence on the western limit. This portion is most thickly covered with broken pottery and baked bricks of a dark colour. Indeed, on the eastern side there is but a slight sprinkling of these signs of by-gone occupation. In a superficial excavation made here one morning with only one labourer, I found a great number of black fragments of burnt earthen vessels, also a broken tile or flat brick at a depth of about 1 foot from the surface, which, when whole, would have measured 11 inches by 7 inches by 1¾ inches, after which all traces of brick seemed to disappear, leaving only the bare earth. I could find no traces of continuous walls.

Situation of remains.

There are also some more mounds of minor importance in this neighbourhood; amongst these may be mentioned—*1st*, *Deo-Parhû Barâm*, a mound upon which there is a fine banian tree (*Ficus Indica*),—it is situated between *Sabâri* and *Chowrâsi*. *2nd*, *Sabanand-Dih*, a low mound upon which I failed to find any traces of bricks. I did not, however, make any excavations here. Situated between *Deo-Barûnârâk* and *Mahâdeo-pûr*, *3rd*, *Kanû-Dih*, 2½ miles south-west of *Deo-Barûnârâk*, there is also a mound at *Karath*, and at *Kûpa-Patan*, a very large *Pipal*, surrounded with a heap of mud about 4 feet high, plastered over with light-coloured clay and decorated with patches and stripes of various colours, and oblations of *ghee*, curds and buttermilk &c., are placed there by the votaries of *Baram-Bâbâ*, which is the name given to

Minor remains.

this shrine. I saw many such in the *Shâhâbâd* district, but none of the size or pretensions of that at *Kûpa-Patan.*

The sacred Hindu villages called after saints, holy devotees, &c., and having the prefix of *Deo* attached to their names, are very numerous in this part of *Behâr*, as, for example, *Deo-Dûtdehri*, *Deo-Kûli*, *Deo-Malphûr*, *Deo-Barûnârak*, *Deo-Dih*, *Deo-Umga*, *Deo-Markandih*, *Deo-Pansa*, *Deo-Chandr*, &c. The natives generally call all these places simply *Deo*, and this renders it somewhat confusing when searching for any particular site having this prefix, which is common to so many.

2.—MAHÂDEOPÛR.

(*See Plate III.*)

Mahâdeopûr.

At the small and obscure village of *Mahâdeopûr* situated 10 miles in a straight line south of *Pîrâ Thâna*, there is one very curious early brick temple quite enveloped amid the spreading branches of a fine old *pipal* tree (*Ficus Religiosa*), which grows for the most part out of the northern wall of the temple itself. This temple is almost unique, even as regards its general form, but the pinnacle, or final member, which crowns it, is particularly so, being in form a modification between a double-umbrella and double-mushroom.

The glimpses of these ruins that were visible through the luxuriant foliage of the *pipal*, together with that handsome tree itself, had a very picturesque effect; but such a picture would be of little use for archæological purposes, as it would not show the architectural details of the building. Hence, I was obliged to cut away the branches from its eastern or front face in order to secure a view showing the two storeys of the temple, with its doorways of over-lapping bricks, also the very peculiar pinnacle above mentioned.[1]

[1] See Plate III for a view of this Temple, and Archæological Survey, Vol. XVI, Plate XXI, from Education, Section and Plan.

From careful measurements I find the total height of the Mahâdeopûr temple is 42 feet 3 inches from the present floor level to the summit, thus—

	ft.	in
Height of lower chamber . . .	9	9
,, upper ,, . . .	19	8
,, pinnacle . . .	12	10
Total height of structure .	42	3

The area of the lower chamber is from north to south 8 feet 4 inches and from east to west 8 feet 8 inches, and the height of its entrance (this doorway is built of over-lapping bricks) exactly 5 feet. The walls at base of this edifice are remarkably massive, being 5 feet 2 inches thick at centre of lower chamber; this, however, decreases higher up, and the wall of the upper chamber is but 3 feet 6 inches in thickness, and the doorway to this chamber is 6 feet high, or 1 foot in excess of the entrance to the lower chamber.

Dimensions of Linga temple of Mahâdeopûr.

Constructive details.

Measuring around the lower rim of the pinnacle before mentioned, it has a diameter of 7 feet 7 inches; this is, however, the larger of the dual circular disc, which in its turn supports a series of minor discs to a height of 12 feet 10 inches. The plan of this temple is a polygon of twelve sides, diminishing by steps or degrees until the floor of the second chamber is reached, when it assumes the ordinary obeliskal shape common to Hindu temples, and is finally surmounted by the pinnacle, of which, together with this curious temple, a view is given in Plate III.

Dimensions of pinnacle.

It will be seen by the name of this village, *Mahâdeopûr*, that the greater part of its inhabitants are votaries of the popular deity Mahâdeo, and are consequently *saiviles*. Moreover, this temple is devoted also to the worship of *Rûdr*

or *Hâr*, and is called *Mahâdeo-kâ-Shivâla*, being duly supplied with linga, &c., requisite for such establishments.

From a short conversation with the *Bhagath* of this shrine, I learned that popular belief assigns the building of *Mahâdeo-kâ-Mândir*, at a very remote age, to the brothers *Râi-mal* and *Sahi-mal*, who also are said to have dug the *Pokhra* to the east of it; but my informants' ideas were not at all clear as to who these brothers were, and as I was pressed for time and anxious to reach *Deo-Barûnârak*, my stay at *Mahâdeopûr* was not sufficiently protracted to allow of many enquiries.

The brothers Rai-mal and Sahi-mal, builders of temple and excavators of Pokhra.

This early Brâhmanical temple and the more celebrated Bûddhistic edifice of *Bûddha Gaya*, widely known as "the Great Temple," struck me as being much alike in many respects, and, from its general appearance and style of workmanship, I would assign about the same age to the *Shivâla* at *Mahâdeopûr*.

Similarity of Mahâdeopûr temple to that of Bûddha Gaya.

Among the many features in which this temple corresponds with that of *Bûddha Gaya*, may be mentioned—1st, that it has two chambers, one above the other, in common with the great temple; 2nd, that the upper *chamber is corbelled* in exactly similar fashion; 3rd, the doorways are built of overlapping bricks; 4th, though on a greatly reduced scale, I see a strong resemblance in the abstract proportions of this building to its colossal neighbour of *Bûddha Gaya;* and, lastly, the *kotha*, or pinnacle, of the Mahâdeopûr temple appeared, what remains of it, to be so exactly like what that of *Bûddha Gaya* must have been that, with a view to render all the assistance in my power towards the completion of the restoration of the last-named temple, an arduous and responsible work which has been entrusted to the able supervision of Mr. Beglar, Executive Engineer, I mentioned this remarkable similarity to that officer, and also sent him a sketch of the pinnacle, which, in my opinion, with but little revision, might have served as a guide from which the ruined final of the *Bûddha Gaya* temple could have been restored.

Its dangerously ruined condition.

Some restoration is badly needed by the *Mahâdeopûr* temple itself, as when I left the place, it was propped up by heavy wooden poles inserted diagonally into the upper storey; to arrive at which chamber there does not appear to have ever been a proper staircase.

3.—DEO-BARUNARAK.

(*See Plates IV to VIII.*)

Deo-Barûnârak: situation, &c.

This essentially Brâhmanical village is situated just 6 miles to the north-east of *Mahâdeopûr*, or 26 miles, in a straight line, south-west of *Arra*.

Derivation and correct form of its name.

The name of this village is wrongly given in Atlas Sheet No. 103 as *Deonar-Narooh*. The correct form, however, is *Deo-Barûnârak*, as I will proceed to show. A Brâhman belonging to this ancient site very kindly wrote the name for me, and his spelling is:—

देव बरऊ[1] नारक

Davbroonârk.

read DEO-BARUNARAK.

Legendary age of remains.

The name of this ancient site is derived from that of its founder *Nipat* or Râjâ *Barûn*. This king is placed by the fabulous Brâhmanical recorders in the latter portion of the *Dwâpar-Yuga*, the "brazen age;" it is said about 50 years before the close of this epoch, and hence 435,151 years ago, that is, adding 50 years from the brazen age which, according to the code of *Brâhma*, comprises 864,000 years to the iron age now fabled to be in progress, and to amount to 435,101 years.

Dwapur Pokhra.

The adjacent *pokhra*, a very large and handsome tank, also takes its name from the age in which Râjâ *Barûn* is supposed to

[1] This long vowel, seldom used in the body of a word, is curiously unabbreviated.

have lived, being called *Dwâpur-pokhra*, or the tank of the third, or brazen, age. This beautiful sheet of water, together with the remains of numerous temples of brick construction, is supposed to be the work of the king after whose name the village is called.

The exact limits of the dominion over which Râjâ *Barûn* ruled are not known, but the neighbourhood of *Deo-Barûnârak* was, doubtless, his religious establishment and an asylum for the royal priests.

Burrâon Barûngâon.

Now, there is a very flourishing village, or rather a small town 8 miles to the north of *Sassaram*, called BURRAON, which I take to be short for BARUNGAON, or "*Barûn's* village;" this name must, however, belong to a time after this site was reduced to the status of a mere village, having been formerly, if we may judge by some surrounding remains, much larger and more important, and I propose to call it BARUNPURA, and to identify it with the city of Râjâ *Barûn*, which the site of *Deo-Barûnârak* itself, though sufficiently ancient, cannot represent, as all the remains here are of religious edifices. At present *Burrâon* is under the partial control of a Bâbû who has a number of elephants and lives in a spacious house.

In noticing a place far removed from my present subject, General Cunningham has written[1]:—"The name of Baran, or Bârân, is unknown to Hindû history,' and again—"The name is said to be derived from Râjâ *Ahi-baran*, the 'Cobra-complexioned." Here we see the word *Baran* employed with that of *Ahi* as a compound adjective, but I wish to show that no such sense is to be inferred from its use in Behar, where it means simply the proper name or title of a king. It will be seen by a perusal of the second volume of the Archæological Survey Reports, page 451, that *Varmma* was a common affix, or surname, of several kings of the Chandel dynasty, and it is just possible that this *Barûn*, *Varûn*, or *Varna* may be a corruption of VARMMA.

[1] *Vide* Archæological Survey Reports, p. 147, Vol. XIV.

The Brâhmanical traditions of *Deo-Barûnârak*, though preserving at least the surname of its founder, are, in common with all such accounts, in the formation of which the *Pûrânas* have been largely consulted, from a chronological point of view, wholly unreliable, and therefore, before proceeding further, these should be dismissed as fabulous. The numerous remains are now left to guide us, and, after consulting various comparative epochs in Brâhmanical architecture, I would assign the erection of the oldest among the *Deo-Barûnârak* temples to about the end of the ninth, or beginning of the tenth, century A.D. This period, besides agreeing with the style of architecture employed in these buildings, is that in which the sixth king of the Chandel dynasty, and the first bearing the surname *Varmma*, reigned. Now, as the Chandel princes were tributary to the *Pâla* dynasty of *Magadha*, I infer that *Yesso-Varmma*, whom I would identify with Râjâ *Varna* or VARUNA of BARUNPURA (the present *Barrâoṅ*), was contemporary with the then paramount sovereign *Vigrâha-Pâla*, or even *Mâhi-Pâla* himself, the 11th *Pâla* sovereign,[1] of whom I discovered a dated inscription among the ruins of *Vâidianâth*.

Râjâ *Varûn* a Chandel.

Deo-Varûnârak itself is evidently an ancient religious site sacred to Brâhmans, and of that caste there are, most unusually, more houses than of any other. In the village there are about 90 dwellings, as follows :—

Population of *Varûnârak*.

Castes.	Dwellings.	Castes.	Dwellings.
Brâhmânas	15	Rajwârs	8
Râjpûts	7	Hajâms	3
Ahîrs	8	Mâlîs	2
Koërs	12	Sowârs	4
Thelîs	9	Kânûs	7
Dusâds	5	Patwârîs	3
		On out-skirts—	
Pasîs	2	Chamârs	5
	58		32
		Total number of dwellings .	91

[1] See Archæological Survey Reports, p. 134, Vol. III, for a genealogical table of the *Pâla Dynasty*.

Amongst the Brâhman community there are five elders who conduct all religious ceremonies here connected with the temples, a few of which, though in ruins, are still used. These men are named—*Chattr-Pâṅḍa*,[1] *Sitâha-Pâṅḍa*, *Râmnâth-Pâṅḍa*, *Gokhul-Pâṅḍa*, and *Debi Pâṅḍa*, and are all very intelligent men and most willing to give information.

Remains at *Deo-Varûnârak*.

At *Deo-Varûnârak* there are altogether seven early brick temples standing on a large brick mound (of these only two are large), a stone monolith and a very ancient tank called *Dwâpar-Pokhra*. This account is illustrated by a number of plates of the structural and other antiquities, so it will not be necessary to dwell upon a further description of them. Moreover, having previously been informed that a map of this place had been secured by the Director General of the Archæological Survey, I did not spend any time in preparing plans, &c., of the buildings at *Deo-Varûnârak*.[2]

Carved stone pillar.

The lower portion of the monolith was buried in the ground for a depth of 2 feet 10 inches, and stood 7 feet 2 inches above the surface, so that a great deal more than the base (which is of the usual form, *i.e.*, a series of steps) was concealed, and had to be exhumed.[3] This pillar, it will be seen, has a rudely shapen squarish capital and bears on its shaft several miniature representations of the architecture of the period in which it was wrought. One of these, which appears on all four faces of the pillar, is particularly noteworthy ;—I allude to the curious capital crowning the first member of the shaft: it appears to be composed of a pair of winged lions or Pegasus, but

[1] The provincial form for *Pandit* or *Pûjârî*, a class of Brâhmans whose sole avocation consists in expounding the Hindû religion to their fellows.

[2] See Plates IV, V, VI, and VII for views of the two large Temples—and Plate VIII for two statues. See also Archæological Survey, Vol. XVI, Plate XXII, for a map of the village site, and Plate XIII for a plan of the Temple mound.—*A. Cunningham.*

[3] See Archæological Survey, Vol. XVI, Plate XXIV, from Mr. Garrick's Photograph, for a view of this monolith.

the animals depicted, whatever they may be intended for, do not seem to have any lower members to their bodies, for they finish with a conventional ornament, like we often see applied to the griffin in lieu of legs and feet; above this, again, there is a row of human figures joining hands, which goes right round the column; higher up, also, it is richly carved with figures and ornament, while just above the basement it is supported by four large standing figures.

I found a very fantastic design engraved on one of the small pillars in the court-yard of the largest temple to the south of the mound: the subject represented is apparently a heron surrounded by a chaos of scrolls which are probably meant for clouds; the execution and design of this intaglio is eminently Chinese, and strongly resembles the work on tea-chests from that country. Also, on one of the ten granite pillarettes supporting this temple inside I saw a few similar markings very clearly cut out of the stone, and, on the west wall inside, one of the panels is decorated with an old geometrical pattern (*satranj*), but very poorly drawn in *gírû* or red earth.

There are three inscriptions at *Deo-Varûnârak*, two old and cut on two angles of one of the court-yard pillars, and one more in modern *Deva Nâgari* near the site of the entrance gateway of the large temple.[1]

4.—GARHANI.

Situated 13 miles south of Arra on the *pakka* road which leads to *Sassarâm*, the populous village of *Garhani* contains a fine Mahomedan *masjíd* and an idol temple; these are, however, both comparatively modern.

Quite close to where my tent was pitched there is a smaller temple, or rather the four walls of one, as the roof has long since disappeared. To this brick enclosure a

[1] The two old inscriptions here mentioned are the left and right-hand halves of one inscription, engraved on adjacent faces of the pillar. See Archæological Survey, Vol. XVI, Plates XXV and XXVI, for a copy of the inscription taken from Mr. Garrick's Photographs.—*A. Cunningham.*

surprising number of women come daily twice, and even thrice, with brass and copper vessels, filled with water, sandal-wood, *simdû,* and rice as offerings to the deity; with these things they gravely anoint the *devatas* and depart to their homes. The idols are only eight little heaps composed of a brick plastered over with clay; and as the enclosure that enshrines these insignificant symbols is entirely roofless, they were nearly destroyed with the heavy floods of rain we were having just then. I believe this practice is only observed during the heaviest rains occurring during the *hatîla* showers or what we would call the end of the rainy season, and, oddly enough, these females come in groups of seven and eight, heavily laden with water vessels, sometimes piled up four and five upon each other, wading through the pools of water and quite heedless of the torrents of rain, to propitiate these little *devis.* Within one hour I counted over fifty of these pious creatures, who visited the *devistan.* I am told their principal motive is to avert sickness, fever especially, of which a great deal was rife at the time of my visit to *Garhani.*

Worship of Indra or Maghavan.

I am not at all sure whether or no these eight idols so avidiously worshipped are symbolical, in some form, of *Indra* or *Meghavâhan.* They certainly have a distinctly pluvial significance, but I could learn nothing from the people further than it was seemly and customary to attend the *deotas* during the *hatila* or *chitra* seasons, both clearly suggestive of the rain and the cloud god.

Satihârs.

Close to the banks of the *Banâs-nâlla,* I saw two *satihârs* at which the *sati* ceremony must have been performed quite recently, as one of my servants found fragments of a woman's bracelet (*chûl*) of the common lac composition generally worn by married women, and also several pieces of charred and bleached human bone were to be seen on the spot. The ordinary monument (uninscribed), to perpetuate the memory of the victim, stood on a small eminence of earth at the water's edge.

5.—BHOJPÚR.

Bhojpúr.

To the north of a small village called *Nánán* on the Grand Trunk Road, and about 5 miles east of *Bhojpúr*, I found a small two-chambered temple with nine pieces of sculpture, some in blue-stone and others in granite. The figures and architectural ornament represented by these sculptures were not of much account, and the temple was razed to the ground, presenting merely a foundation of brick-work with a lingam statue placed *in situ* in the centre of one of the chamber foundations.

At *Bhojpúr* there is a mound said to be the remains of *Rájá Bhoj's* fort, but I had no time on my hands to stay for excavations at this place, as I was marching westward with all haste for *Váidyanáth Darowli* and other sites of interest lying to the west of the Shâhabâd district. [The usual is Dildârnagar. *A. C.*]

6.—DELDÂNAGAR.

Deldânagar.

While at *Deldânagar*, on the line of railway between *Zamania* and *Guhmâr*, I came across several large blocks of granite shaped in the form of mortars, or large bowls, and embellished around the outside with peculiar diagrams carved in relief. The best of these carvings were those in which the representation of figures and animals had not been attempted, and only floral ornamentation adopted; but such specimens are scarce and not popular, the majority of these bowls being engraved with figures of birds and beasts of every description, which, though execrably drawn, have a most striking effect. These mortars are used during the cane-crushing season for extracting the juice which is afterwards manufactured into *gúr*, or black, coarse sugar.

Carved mortars.

There are seven of these stones here, distributed as follows:—three in the next encamping-ground to that in which my camp was pitched (near the railway station), two inside the village of *Deldânagar*, and two less than a mile south-west of the village

in the shade of a tope of trees (*bâg*). Of the first three two belong to the *Ahir* community and one to a *Chamâr*. One of those in the village belongs to the *Koërs*, who also own one of those in the *bâgh* south-west of the village; the other mortar here is the property of a Mussalman; the remaining one inside the village belongs to two *faqirs* conjointly: so that it will be observed the manufacture of *gûr* is a general industry and quite unconfined, like most other pursuits, to any caste in particular. I also heard that those who invest in this mode of speculation find it highly lucrative, as the product of their labour is sold on the spot to *Mahâjans*, who despatch it to the various marts, taking all risk upon themselves; and, as the stone may be called everlasting, and the upper works which are of *babûl* wood nearly so, there is little or no wear occasioned by use, the machinery being preserved for several generations. The outlay made by these manufacturers at starting is little, and they are consequently increasing, I am told, in number rapidly, leaving the more toilsome and uncertain pursuit of grain cultivation on acquiring a sufficient capital to enable them to start in the manufacture of this *gûr*, which is perhaps more generally consumed throughout India than any other commodity, for vast masses entirely live upon saccharine diet, and sweetmeats may be called the staple food of the *Panjâbís*, especially where, in certain cities, whole streets are almost entirely populated by *halwâis*.

The stone in its rough state is rolled here from *Chandalgarh*,[1] where R36 are paid for it; the transport thence to *Deldânagar* by cooly is R7; the carvings are executed by an ironsmith, who also set it up for R10: altogether, the wood-work, pestle, &c., costs, with labour, R5. Then, an iron evaporating dish is purchased for R14. Here we have a total of R72, for which, with the addition of a couple of bullocks, the investor is rendered comparatively independent.

[1] The native name for Chûnâr Fort. It occurred to me that *Chandalgarh* ought to be *Kundalgarh*, perhaps the ancient site of *Kundalpûr*, the city of King *Vishmak* and *Rûkm*, spoken of in the *Vishnû Bhágavat* of the *Púrânas*.

[The true name is Charanâdri-garh, commonly pronounced Chanâl-garh and also Chunâr-garh.—*A. Cunningham*.]

This practice has evidently been common from time immemorial, as some of the stones are much worn and defaced, and valuable inscriptions have been found on others.

Indigenous sculpture.

I enquired after the sculptor who, it appears, has the entire monopoly of this kind of work, being the only man for a great distance who practises the craft. He is by trade a blacksmith, and lives at a small village called *Bhawâra*, situated about half a mile to the north of *Deldânagar*, and his practice is to trace the forms he intends engraving upon stone from memory with a sharp-pointed chisel, without the aid of any tracings or memoranda; after which he proceeds to carve the forms of his design into bas-relief very rapidly

7.—DAROWLI.

Remains at Darowli: dimensions, &c.

The remains at *Darowli* consist of two small-sized Hindû temples in ruin, and measuring—*1st temple*, from north to south, 15 feet 8 inches and east to west 18 feet 7 inches, being 5 feet high; *2nd temple*, from north to south 36 feet, and from east to west 23 feet, and 3 feet high, with sundry pieces of sculpture. Two fine tanks, apparently old, and a *kot* or *garh*, a large mound, measuring from north to south 108 feet and from east to west 88 feet, being 25 feet high. There is also a small brick mound, with standing walls and a few fragmentary sculptures, about 3 miles to the north-north-west of *Darowli*.

The first-named temple still retains its brick walls to a height of about 4 feet 6 inches, or 5 feet; these are filled in with mud and débris, the whole forming a compact mound, on the top of which there are four stone obelisks, averaging 4 feet high and carved on all four faces. A few other fragments of sculpture, much broken also, can be seen on this mound. Were this mound excavated and emptied of all the rubbish now filling it up, it is very probable that a number of additional sculptures, and even inscriptions, may be discovered; but when I visited *Darowli* all the procurable labour was monopolised by the agriculturists in ploughing operations, but I got my

own men to exhume some stones and sculptures of sorts. I would strongly recommend that a supply of pickaxes and shovels be allowed to me, for in many instances the coolie labour is procurable when the professional diggers,—*scil.* the *Bind*, *Núnia*, and *Bildâr* castes—are not; moreover, coming with *genth* and *phowra*, they generally demand an enhanced wage to the labourers coming without these implements.

Sanskrit inscription in Varâha temple.

At the entrance of the *2nd* temple, which is at present only a foundation, almost wholly deprived of walls, I saw a stone placed to serve as a door-step, but which clearly formed the original lintel of the entrance gateway. This stone bears an inscription in Sanskrit which was originally in three lines, but on account of the people constantly treading upon it as they enter to worship here, and also perhaps owing to the habit wayfarers have of resting their burdens on this stone under the cool shade of a spreading *banyan* tree, which overshadows these ruins, there is only a small portion of this inscription preserved, the remainder having been rubbed away. The principal sculptures here are as follow:—

Sculptures at Darowli.

1. A representation of the *ashta sakti*, of which three of the figures are broken off and lay on mound No. 1.

2. A large representation of *Vishnú*, with figures in adoration.

3. Ditto ditto ditto ditto.

These two (a pair) stand on either side of the *banyan*.

4. A *sati* monument, with bas relief of hand betwixt the sun and moon.

5. A figure of *Párvati*.

6. Several architectural fragments.

7. A large statue of the boar *avátár*, *Várâha*, the 3rd incarnation of *Vishnú*.

There are in all four places called *Darowli* in and about this vicinity; one, *Darowli thâna*, on the Ghogra river; the second *Darowli* is a small village situated 5 miles southwest of *Deldânagar*; the third *Darowli* is that which forms the subject of this account, and of which mention is made on page 462 of Dr. Buchanan's Statistical Volume on Behâr; and there is another *Darowli* close to the Grand Trunk Road leading to

Banâras. The Darowli which stands third on this list is an average-sized Hindû village containing about eighty houses. It is accessible from the north by a much more convenient way than the *kucha* road laid down in Atlas Sheet No. 103. Starting from *Deldânagar*, there is a rude and somewhat zigzag path across the fields to *Kura-ghât*, where the water of the *Karamnâsa* river is just fordable for camels at low tide. A similar path on the south side of the *Karmnâsa* leads to a village called *Têra*, and thence to *Teryta*, *Sûraj-pura*, and *Rohia*. To the east of *Rohia*, *Darowli* is quite visible, and is distant altogether 10 miles from *Deldânagar* in a southerly direction.

8.—RÂMGARH.

From Darowli the village of *Râmgarh* is only 5 miles south-west, and about equi-distant between the former and *Bâijnâth*.

Râmgarh mound.

Râmgarh possesses, besides a *thâna*, a post office, a considerable population, and two mounds, or *garhs*, after the larger of which the village is called.

The mound called *Râmgarh* is somewhat higher than that of *Darowli*, and is to all appearances composed of mud. I made no excavations here, nor do I think any were called for, as, after a casual examination of *Râmgarh*, I came to the conclusion that it was little more than a mass of earth, despite the numerous tales extant about its connection with a city of *Râm-chandra*, one of the later manifestations of the deity.

9.—VÂIDYANÂTH.[1]

Vâidianâth : its situation, &c.

The village of *Vâidyanâth*, commonly written *Bâijnâth* in the Hindí form, is situated one march to the south of *Zamania*, or 22 miles south of *Ghâzipûr*, in a straight line, and it is

[1] See Plates IX, X, and XI.

perhaps one of the most interesting sites in India—not so much for its present standing architectural remains, which, though ancient, are comparatively few in number, but on account of its historical associations, both archæological and ethnological, its situation being surrounded on all sides by countless structural relics of a by-gone time, which alike tell vividly of the rise and fall of unknown dynasties, and set forth examples of the earliest Bråhmanical architecture of which we have knowledge. It is interesting on account, also, of its close union with the early history of this part of the country, its position in the very heart of a labyrinth of decayed sites; and, finally, on account of the structural and other remains contained within its own limits. These, both buildings and sculptures, belong entirely to early and mediæval Brahmanism and the worship of the gods generally, stringent search having wholly failed in bringing to light any of those relics bearing even remotely on the *Bûddhistic* religion, and I feel confident that any attempt to discover traces of *Bûddhism* here will prove futile, and the *Vâidyanâth* remains should in my opinion be regarded as purely *Brâhmanical* in origin and development.

Brâhmanical remains.

The remains at *Vâidyanâth* consist of a large mound west of the village, upon which is built a comparatively modern Saivite temple, a low brick-strewn mound, now under cultivation and situated half a mile to the north-east of village; this mound is called *Kakahai-garh*, a brick mound towards the south of village, and some fragmentary sculptures under trees a little to the north of *Baijnâth*. Of these numerous remains in the neighbourhood of, but at some distance from, *Baijnâth* a list in tabular form is given further on in these pages.

Ancient mound and modern temple built of sculptures, &c.

Noting the extremely regular form of the large mound, upon the centre of which the present *Shivâla* stands, I concluded, after examining and partially excavating this mound, that it was nothing more or less than the remains of the ancient temple of *Vaidyanâth*.

In order to lay bare the foundations of this building, I commenced excavations very shortly after my arrival at *Baij-nâth* and had exhumed a number of chambers and transverse walls, when I was desired by the brothers *Bâbû Dwarika Singh* and *Bâbû Jaganâth Singh*, residents of *Rûpûr* (Baijnâth) to discontinue digging here, and, as these men assured me that the temple was their own property, I complied, for the time being, with their request, losing no time, however, in enquiring from the authorities at Arra regarding the truth of their claim to ownership. But, though I engaged myself with other work, pending the recommencement of my excavations in this interesting mound, unfortunately the authority, which would have enabled me to unearth the foundations of this ancient building, arrived so late that it only reached me on my leaving *Vaidyanâth* for Central India. But the paper, which is accompanied by two *parwânas* in vernacular to these brothers, might be useful hereafter, if this good work is to be completed.

Excavations in ancient mound.

My excavations here, as far as they went, disclosed three chambers, the original floors of which were beautifully cemented with *gach*, or lime cement. It was also found that the stone-work in this early structure was all fastened together with massive E-shapen cramps, a number of which we found below the mound's surface, some *in situ* or fixed into divers blocks of beautifully squared and dressed stone, and others just loosely lying about. The original floor of the ancient temple now represented by this heap of ruins was, as nearly as possible, on a level with, or it may be slightly below, the surrounding fields, the present surface level of the mound being generally about 8 or 10 feet higher.

Nature of masonry exhumed.

From what I could discern by these partial excavations, the original temple must have had a large portico in front (or to the east) supported upon a number of columns, a large shrine or *mahâ-mandapa* in the centre, and a line of priests' cells to the west behind the edifice, the whole being surrounded by a massive wall about 120 feet from north to south and 100 feet from east to west, of which wall I found distinct traces.

not call for further comment. But it will be seen from the following that this pilgrim was no common mendicant, and must have commanded considerable resources to have enabled him to visit the numerous places at vast distances from each other at which his name remains inscribed—this, too, at a time when travelling was very expensive and seldom undertaken without a due number of elephants, camels, and attendants. Before proceeding to try and find out who this pilgrim was, it may not be amiss to quote the following extract from an account of Narwar, which will be found on page 321, Volume II of the Archæological Survey Reports :—

"The only work now existing in the fort that can be attributed with any probability to the Hindûs is a large tank in the citadel called *Magar-dhaj* or *Makara-dhwaja*. The name is a Hindû one, and is said to be that of the Rajâ at whose expense the tank was excavated. The work must have been rather costly, as the tank is 300 feet square at top, and from 35 to 36 feet deep, the whole being dug out of the solid rock."

The above extract throws a mass of light on the antecedents of this intrepid traveller and devotee. The absence of the affix "*Jogi*," in the Narwar forms of this name, which agree exactly with that of the inscription in every other essential, is easily explained by the popular inclination, manifest almost everywhere, to shorten and curtail proper names, and not being in this instance part of the name proper, but merely a religious epithet similar to the prefix "*Faqir*" in Muhammadan proper names, it is not necessary to this identification. Moreover, it would appear that this tank was very old, as further on in the same account already partly quoted we learn that the tank "was originally intended to hold 20 feet of water, but the thick coating of stucco, which once lined the interior, has long ago disappeared, and the tank is now quite dry, except after heavy rain, when it has a few feet of water, which, however, it retains only for a short time;" and that "at a later period the bed of the tank was laid out as a garden containing a number of plantains and marigolds." So that no chronological difficulty seems to present itself against the identification of *Magar-dhwaj Jogi*,

the pilgrim of the eighth century, whose name figures on countless celebrated places of pilgrimage, with *Râjâ Magardhaj*, the excavator of the *Nalapûra* tank. Amongst many other objects inscribed with this pilgrim's name may be mentioned the monolith of *Bhâgalpûr*, visited by me during the cold season of 1880-81. This is an exact transcript of the smaller column at *Vaidianâth* inscribed, also within the same year, *i.e.* Samvat ? 700.[1]

Identification of *Magandhwaj Jogi* with *Rajâ Magardhaj* of Nâlapûra.

The small obeliscal pillarettes, of which twenty-two are now above ground, are somewhat similar to the four I found on the ruined temple at *Darowli*. They are solid square pillars, tapering towards the top and mostly crowned with a circular ornament, probably meant for the Amaranth. They are generally about 5 feet high, and divided off into several compartments or storeys, each of which forms the frame of some design in bas-relief—generally human figures.

Carved chapels.

Having seen these objects in some other places, I was much puzzled to find out their use, or what purpose they could have served about these temples (as they are wholly unadapted to architectural purposes), and partly by the almost putrefied matter with which their crevices were filled, and partly from information I received from Brâhmans, I discovered that these obelisks were worshipped, independently of the principal temple, as votive chapels, being daily anointed with red lead, &c. (which had to be dug out of the crevices, as I photographed a selection of these interesting objects).

I infer that they were also placed on given spots surrounding, or in front of, the temple. Probably, being gifts of the more affluent of its congregation, they were not unlike small models of temples themselves.

[1] I take Magar-dhwaj Jogi to have been a simple Hindû mendicant who visited most of the holy places in Northern India. I have found his name in some eight or ten different places. It is always followed by the number 700, except in the instance of the Bhâgulpore pillar mentioned above, on which the number is reversed as 007.—*A. Cunningham.*

Cubic temple.

The small modern temple now standing upon this mound was in design, originally, a simple cube of about 12 feet, but to this has been added, of late years, a very ugly pyramid-shaped top. I heard from the Brâhmans that this top was added about 16 years ago by the Bâbû brothers before mentioned, and constitutes their sole interest in these remains.

Materials of ancient temple utilised in construction of modern temple.

The floor of the temple is below the surface of the surrounding mound, and its roof is built of the usual overlapping stone slabs. It would be altogether unworthy of notice were it not for the ruthless waste of sculptures, and, very likely, valuable inscriptions also, that it exhibits in every part. I allude to the materials of which this *Shivâla* is built, that is, a medley of sculptures in every imaginable position, used haphazard in lieu of bricks or stones, and, as these undoubtedly belong to the earlier temple below, this ungainly little building affords an apt illustration of the fact that the theft of materials from ruined Hindû temples is not practised by Mussalmans alone for the building of their mosques, but also by the Hindûs themselves for later temples.

Discovery of a Sanskrit inscription.

Although I enquired carefully for inscriptions, with the exception of a pilgrim's record inscribed on a column, nobody knew that any existed. But on closely searching the wall now surrounding the mound, and which belongs to about the same time as the modern temple on the mound, being also, in common with this *Shivâla*, literally *built of sculptures*, I saw a few marks peeping above the ground, and on digging away the earth from this portion of the *Châr-dawâle*, I discovered an inscription of *Sri Madana Pâla*, one of the *Pâla* sovereigns of *Magadha*. This record is dated in *Samvat* 9 on Friday, the 11th of the dark fortnight of July, and consists of two long lines, thus :

Sri Madana Pâla Deva Samvatsara Navame.
Aswin badi II Sukre[1] . . . .

[1] I am indebted for this reading to General Cunningham.

Of the sculptures I exhumed here, the most noteworthy are:

Sculptures exhumed at Vâidyanâth.

The richly carved uprights and lintels of two gateways, for which I afterwards found some minor ornaments, which assisted me in making a restoration of one. These highly ornamental gateways measure 9 and 10 feet high respectively, besides 7 polygonal shafts, similar to that inscribed with the pilgrim's record; the bases of 3, and capitals of 5, of these were also exhumed, making in all nine columns of the pattern shewn in plate X, two (including that inscribed) being already on the surface of the mound on my arrival. It is upon such columns, though the precise number would be difficult to name without a thorough excavation of the mound, that I conclude the eastern porch before mentioned to have been supported. I also unearthed ten sculptured obelisks similar to twelve others visible on this mound at the time of my visit to *Baijnâth*, besides a large number of miscellaneous Brâhmanical statues more or less common.

Vâidyanâth inscriptions.

There are now in all three inscriptions at *Vâidyanâth*: the first that of the king *Madana Pâla Deva*, already noticed; second, of two lines, merely recording the name of a pilgrim, with the date of his visit; and third, a very short inscription, having only five early characters, which commence with the name of *Sitâ*. This record was found by a mere chance on one of the gate uprights, upon which the figure of *Sitâ*, the wife of *Râm*, appears frequently.

Of the first and third inscriptions readings have now been given. It remains, therefore, to describe the second record, apparently of a pilgrim, and giving merely the name of the writer, followed by his religious title *J. Jogi*, "devotee," and the numeral date of *Samvat* (?) 700, which, if we take the *Indian Saka* era, would correspond with 779 A.D., thus:

Magardhwaja Jogi 700.

Were it not for the frequent and prominent occurrence of this name in many of the holy resorts of India, the inscription would

Minor Remains.

Kakahai-garh is a low mound, exhibiting in places traces of broken pottery and situated about half a mile north-east of the village of *Baijnâth*. It at present bears very good crops of wheat, and, while ploughing here, it is related that a labourer found a number of gold coins about 90 years ago.

A nameless solid brick mound also exists a little to the south of *Baijnâth*, on which there are some fine old trees and sculptures, and the bricks of which it is composed are mostly large.

Tanks.

The tanks of *Vaidyanâth* and its neighbourhood are very numerous, and are popularly called *pohra*, and sometimes *tâl* and *kund;* and as some useful names may exist amongst them, I have made a list, preserving, when possible, their ancient names (now obsolete and known only by the better educated classes) along with those now in use. It will be observed that the original forms of several names have undergone much change.

(1) Large tank behind *Vaidianâth Shivâla*, ancient name *Siv-kûnd*, present name *Sri-Baijnâth-ji-ka-kûnd;* (2), large tank in front of temple (east), ancient name *Dharnav-kûnd*, present name *Dhrubi;* (3), north of temple, ancient name *Karamkûnd*, present name *Kakahai-pokhra;* (4), further north, ancient name *Siv-kûnd*, present name *Sabgan;* (5), west of last-named tank, ancient name *Bryl Joyne*, present name *Jorvt;* (6), further west, ancient name *Mâskûnd*, present name *Brathi-talâb;* (7), south of last-named tank, ancient name *Pandav-kûnd*, present name *Prrhi;* (8), south of village of *Vathi* (quite close to *Baijnâth*), a medium-sized tank, former name *Baryah-kûnd*, present name *Barihâla;* (9), east of last tank, early name *Karm-kûnd*, present name *Koëri-tâl*, so named by people of that *gotra*.

The following is a list of ruined buildings, &c., in the vicinity of *Vaidyanâth*. They are generally of *Swirâni* origin and popularly called *Kot*. Regarding the aboriginal tribe, to the period of whose rule most of the ruins

in this part of the country are assigned, more will be said hereafter.

Names of Villages.	Names of *Kot*.	Situation.	Remarks.
1. Baijnâth	Mahadev-ka Kot	S. of village	Swîrâni—very early.
	Singapûr Kot	N. of village	Ditto ditto.
	Nirfarân Kot	N.-E. of village	Ditto ditto.
2. Kakahai	Kakahai Kot	W. of village	A number of gold coins were ploughed up here 90 years ago.
3. Mêra	Balha or Rwâra Kot	N. of village	Early Swîri mound.
4. Mansûra	Name unknown	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
5. Kasthre	Ditto	S.-W. of village	Ditto ditto.
6. Siapokhr	Mâha-dihor Kot	S. of village	Ditto ditto.
7. Dêpârsarâl	Bâl Kot	N.-W. of village	Ditto ditto.
8. Sahaka	Sahaka Kot	W. of village	Ditto ditto.
9. Khorhra	Jowri or Javâla Kot	S.-E. of village	Apparently destroyed by fire.
10. Ravra	Name unknown	S. of village	Mediæval (Swîrâni).
11. Amlada	Am'ada Kot	N. by W. of village	Ditto ditto.
12. Pipre	Dev Kot	E. of village	Early (Swîrâni).
13. Vaithani	Pârasdiha Kot	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
14. Krimi	Simply called Kot	S. of village	Ditto ditto.
15. Kanhpûra	Shîam Kot	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
16. Mohania	Rûdr Kot	N.-E. of village	Ditto ditto.
17. Alampûr	Name unknown	S. and W. of village	Two high mounds in which a number of coins were recently found. Some of these coins are of Akbar's reign, showing that, in all probability, they (the mounds) were occupied as late as the period of the 3rd Moghul ruler.
18. Akohli	Kâli Kot	Ditto	Swîrâni (early).
19. Darowli	Mai Kot	W. of village	Ditto ditto.
20. Sûrajpûra	Name unknown	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
21. Saimâar	Harmûjhbûi Kot	E. of village	Early (Swîrâni).

Names of Villages.	Name of *Kot*.	Situation.	Remarks.
22. Krpâlpûr .	Krpa Kot . .	S. of village .	Early (Swírâni).
23. Bhthbani .	Nameless . .	Ditto . .	Ditto ditto.
24. Niair . .	Kadahr Kot . .	W. of village .	Very tall. Mediæval wall being still seen.
25. Matiari .	Nameless . .	S.-E. of village .	Ordinary low mound.
26. Râmgarh .	Râmgad or Kot .	E. of village .	Large flat mound.
27. Gogarh .	Godih or Kot . .	S. of village .	Ditto ditto.
28. Kalpanpûr .	4 *Kots* surrounding village.	N.-E., N.-N. E., E. and S.-W. of village.	Three large and one small, apparently very old.
29. Agni . .	2 mounds, one named Dhaka-Kot, and the other nameless.	Both W. of village	Early (Swírâni).
30. Châtha .	Chutha-Kot . .	E. of village .	Ditto ditto.
31. Debhleaa .	Deb-god or Kot .	Ditto . .	Ditto ditto.

List of places in which a few specimens of the *Swíri* tribe are to be found—

1. *Khialgarh.*
2. *Bowripûr.*
3. *Siddhárji.*
4. *Phútia.*
5. *Jagdispur.*
6. *Dadhára.*
7. *Pirsada.*
8. *Pokhri.*
9. *Varga.*
10. *Pandora.*
11. *Visora.*
12. *Enavati.*
13. *Madhúbani.*
14. *Sińdhora, Noroja, Dhanowrki, Lahára,* and *Parvasi.*

During the summer of 1881 I marked a few lines in the volume on Behâr, prepared by Dr. Buchanan (Hamilton) in the early part of the present century. In these few lines was contained a vague allusion to a certain sparse tribe called *Suirs* or *Siviras*, but with the exception of his conviction that they were the aborigines of Behâr and its neighbourhood, this authority failed in obtaining specific information regarding this most interesting race, and I was obliged to content myself with a determination to take the first opportunity that should offer for enquiring fully into the origin and history of the *Swíris.*

Happily a large portion of my work for the ensuing cold

season (1881-82) lay in the Gangetic *Doâb*, thus, in no small degree, facilitating the researches which, at length, induced me to compile a brief ethnological paper to accompany my report on Vaidyanâth and its ruins, and I venture to hope that the enquiries which have been the subject of much interesting labour to me may afford at least a portion of the interest to my readers.

Danvârs, a kindred race.

Much confusion was occasioned at the outset of my enquiries in this direction by a mistaken notion entertained by some Pandits, whose intelligence I brought to bear on the subject, that a small *tola* near *Zamania* (Ghâzipûr) was inhabited by *Swíris*, but the *got* turned out to be in reality *Danvârs*, a kindred tribe of very much later origin; and though most of the architectural remains in the vicinity of *Vaidyanâth* are traditionally assigned to *Swîri Râj*, or period of *Swírâni* rule, absolutely nothing is known by the peasantry, Thakurs, or Pandit Brâhmans regarding the *Swíris* themselves, who as

The Swiris, their forest life.

a people are supposed to have taken to the woods many centuries ago—led wild lives, some killing sufficient game for their daily wants by archery, but the majority existing on herbs and wild fruit (*kandmal*), and ultimately to have completely disappeared from the face of the earth. Strife is vaguely understood to be the reason of their leaving human habitations and taking to the woods. Similarly with the race that owned *Bâbû Kûnwa Singh* as their chief. The general belief is that, on the flight of the *Swíris* from *Baijnâth*, much wealth

Their jewellery and weapons.

was left behind, from which many families were enriched, and in divers brick-covered mounds, jewellery, arms, coins, &c., of undoubted *Swírâni* origin are occasionally exhumed.[1] This is the legend the more enlightened class of *Behâris* are wont to tell, and which has descended amongst them as the folk-lore of successive generations,—the poorer classes, who trouble themselves but little with such matters, are ignorant of even

[1] From verbal and written accounts of these, I have prepared a list of the jewellery and arms used by this race.

the tribe's name. So far the first account is correct, but, as I presently discovered, these people under the sobriquet (not altogether unappropriate) of *Sûraj-vansa* still inhabit certain obscure villages in small numbers.

Their assumed name of *Sûruj-vansa.*

At the commencement of this season, I was very anxious to obtain diagrams of these aborigines, by which to illustrate my paper; but, though I took considerable pains and sent several emissaries to bring me specimens, we failed to find a single representative of the tribe, until one night at about 11 o'clock I was disturbed at my writing-desk by an intelligent villager, who, hearing that I was enquiring about the *Swíri-kûl*, came to inform me that some members of that race were then living in a village called *Khyâlgarh*, a little to the south of *Kási-ji* (Banâras). With this welcome information I sent some servants along with a *Brâhman*, with presents of money for the *Swíris* and instructions to bring me specimens of the tribe, promising not to detain them above the few hours it would take to secure pictures by means of photography. But before my departure from *Vaidyanâth* to inspect a *Bûddhistic* monastery on the north side of the Ganges, they all fled from the only village I was certain of their inhabiting (*Khyâlgarh*).

A family of *Swíris*, who settled in Khyâlgarh about 70 years ago.

They decamp from *Khyâlgarh.*

I, however, kept some *Brâhmans* in communication, notably *Pandit Râm Khaldon Brâhman* and his father (both of Banâras), and since heard favourable news, and on my arrival in Vaidyanâth a second time, with considerable trouble and expense to myself, I succeeded in getting a most characteristic example of this timid clan, who, bearing out their traditional love of obscurity, shrink most provokingly from any notice being taken of them; this timidity is doubtless enhanced by the ignorant villagers of *Khyâlgarh*, amongst whom, I afterwards heard, many stories were rife of people being deported *nolens volens* for coolie labour to foreign climes, &c., and I confess my Pandits were themselves not

Records of the aborigines are obtained by means of photography.

unwanting in faith, and required me to promise solemnly that it was not for Mauritius that the *Swíris* were wanted, and after satisfying their own minds on this point they were able to swear on *Gangâji* of the entire harmlessness of my inquiries, and fetched me a headman, or *Sirdâr* of the small community, and his child, so that, after so many trips failing on my first visit, the affair having matured during my absence, I obtained plates of the *Swíris* and much information that my paper previously lacked. Photographs of these two will be found in Vol. XVII, plates 32 and 33, of the Archæological Survey, as illustrations of General Cunningham's notice of the Suïr, or Savara, aborigines.

In order to ascertain the approximate number of this tribe now extant, I induced four *Brâhmans* of Behâr to perambulate all these villages in which any hope of their presence might be entertained, losing no opportunity myself for prosecuting enquiries in the meantime. The result of our joint work in this direction was, perhaps, not quite so satisfactory as might have been expected, for I failed altogether to see a *single member of the race*, their name (owing perhaps to the extreme paucity of their numbers) being wholly unknown in the country they once ruled! My emissaries were, however, more successful, and, by comparing their several accounts (some received quite lately), I arrived at the number recorded in the margin, *i.e.*, 47, which stands for an area of ground about 150 by 100 miles, or from Arra to Mirzapûr east and west and from Azimgarh to the hills lying to the south of *Sâssarâm*, north and south. Of those timid creatures following wild lives in the *jangals* I am unable to speak.

Their present population, about 47.

In appearance these people are altogether different to the ordinary peasant belonging to this part of the country. Looking more like the *Uriya* of Lower Bengal, they wear the *nimanandi-chandan* and various other *tilaks*[1] of *roli* (red war-paint) and *chandan*

Their appearance.

Their *tilaks*.

1 The ordinary *dûadash* from 2+10; hence 12. I have a list of the *Swírâs tilak* marks.

(ground sandal-wood) on the body, the *Swíris* also near the Brahmanical cord *janeo*, and though somewhat below the *Bráhman* in social status, they claim an exact equality with the *Kshetrís*; and when I suggested the advisability of his wearing the *Sútrapandrkan*, or thread-like forehead *tilak* worn by *Kshetrís*, in lieu of the *nimanandi* of *Vaishnav* devotees, the man delineated in the plate, so far from acquiescing, appeared to consider himself quite entitled to the *Rámánandi* itself. The *Janeo* is now-a-days affected by so many, *e.g.*, *Kaiths*, *Sonárs* (goldsmiths), &c., that it would be difficult to estimate the caste position of these aborigines by this mark, to which they are, in my humble opinion, quite entitled. Certainly many other castes who wear it have a less right to the Janeo than the *Súraj-vansa*. Be that as it may, the aborigines of the Gangetic Provinces, though once equal to the warrior class of *Kshetrí* Hindús, are now somewhat below them, if indeed the *wee* community now existing require or have any caste at all. I should say, as the result of my enquiries, that they *resemble Kshetrís* as nearly as possible.

The Bráhmanical cord "*Janeo*."

Regarding their equality to *Kshetrís*.

The *Swíri* tribe are of the Solar Race, and *Sávaraní*[1] is their progenitor (*Gotra*). It is doubtful as yet whether the name *Swíri* is derived from that of their progenitor *Sávaran*, or from *Soveráth*, one of the earliest of their kings, as shown in my genealogy of the *Swíráni* kings.

The *Swíris*, of the Solar Race.

Phonetically speaking, the probabilities are in favour of the latter, for *Soveroth*, by omitting the last character, could be easily transcribed *Swíri*, though of course *Sávaran* would also become *Swírán*, with but little corruption, as I will endeavour to show presently. Indeed, these aborigines are called *Suirs* and *Siviras* in the notice made *en passant* by Dr. Buchanan. General Cunningham is of opinion that the name should be written *Savaras*, *Suars*, or *Saurs*, but I think it will be conceded, after a perusal of what follows, that the correct form is *Swíri*.

Derivation of their name.

[1] *Sávaran*, the 5th king in descent from Bráhmá, or the 8th *Mánú*.

Their idols.

The deities worshipped by the *Swiris* are *Mahâdeva*, *Pârvati*, and others of the various *Sarûps* belonging to the Saivite Code.

The *Swiris* a devout people.

All my enquiries, including a manuscript, of which I was fortunate enough to get a sight, show them to have been a most devout race, caring little for war, and, as the manuscript has it, "sitting quietly in their *atâras*, or high balconies, they performed penance; reading the *Vedas* and *Shâstras*, *Neia*, *Vedant*, *Sanskh*, *Jog*, *Viakarn*, *Memansa*, and *Dharmma Shâstra*, generally and constantly taking the name of the *Bhâgvân*, or Supreme Being, they proceeded to cultivate the soil." Though essentially agriculturists, the *Swiris* will not yoke oxen, generally employing meaner castes to perform this, according to their ideas, most degrading work, while they engage themselves with such operations as sowing, reaping, and storing the harvest. The man whose picture I secured is the owner of a small piece of land which he cultivated in this manner.

Their daily occupation agriculture.

Original site of their capital.

It becomes apparent that from the earliest time until the reign of *Sainjith*, the fourth *Swiri* king of whom we have any record, the capital of the *Swirâni* Kingdom was *Ayodhia*, and that during this king's reign (said to be about the middle of the *Kâli-jûga*, or 217,050½ years ago[1]) King *Sainjith* (or conqueror of the world) removed his capital to *Vrithâvr*,[2] near *Kâsiji*, in which was the royal palace, where *Sanijith* held sway. In his reign and in that of his successors many fortresses and castles were built, and the races who inhabited them were called *Swiris* by all.

Their emigrations, &c.

[1] It will be observed that this date, in common with all the chronology regarding these aborigines, is given in its popular form, and is therefore purely *traditional chronology* compatible only with the *Júgas* of *Bráhma*. It is nevertheless all that is as yet known of the genealogy of the *Swíris*.

[2] I have since identified *Vrithâvr* with *Brithbur*, at present a mud village, in pargana *Vadoul*, district Banâras, with many remains which testify to an early occupation.

When King *Pûrmedh* (whose family is fabled to have belonged to the "Silver Age" (*Tretâ-Yûga*) ascended the throne, great were the rejoicings of the "Cow and the Brâhman;" old and young, rich and poor, were[1] contented and happy.

Ascension of King *Pûrmedh.*

In the meantime other powerful tribes became envious, and the three races of *Bhrighû*,[2] *Raghû*, and *Nâg* entered that kingdom very humbly and became the *Swîris'* servants. It is related that some time after the advent of these three tribes into *Swîrânî* territory, a tributary king died, on which occasion there was a large gathering of people, and these *vansas* slew the *Swîris* by a stratagem which their menial capacity greatly facilitated, namely, when their masters (the *Swîris*) called for *sherbet*, these foreigners mixed a herbaceous poison, *yhr*, in the beverage, on drinking which large numbers of the *Swîri-vansa* died instantly. Then the *Swîris* being considerably weakened, and thus affording an easy chance of conquest, an attack was made by the *Bhrighû-vansa*, *Raghû-vansa*, and *Nâg-vansa* conjointly, in which these three races were victorious, and in this manner the kingdom passed from the race of *Swîri*, and the descendants of *Bhrighû* (contrary to custom) began to reign in their stead. The few *Swîri* who escaped from this great war fled to the woods and lived in concealment, some taking refuge in mountain-caves, others going on *dûrjâtrâ*, or distant sacred places of pilgrimage unknown to the three tribes, who entered their kingdom as cup-bearers and usurped their throne.

Arrival of the *Bhrighû-vansa*, *Raghû-vansa*, and *Nâg-vansa.*

Who assassinated the *Swîri-vansa* by treachery.

And annex their kingdom.

The following is a description of a *Swîrânî* marriage, sup-

[1] A common Hindû expression denoting popular and religious festivities. As Pûrmad is said to have been a just monarch, it is related of his ascension to power.

[2] *Bhrighû* was the powerful prince or demi-god who, through pride, smote *Narâína* with his foot; thereupon the Supreme Being cursed his race to be beggars and servant-*Brâhmans*. Hence the present race of religious mendicants, generally known as *Bhâvans*, claim *Bhrighû* for their progenitor.

A Swírâni marriage.

posed to have taken place in the *Treta-yûga*, for which I am indebted to a manuscript and the industrious enquiries of an enlightened zamindar friend conjointly :—

"The marriages of the *Swíri-vansa* were thus celebrated : many elephants with rich *jhuls* (howdahs), also horses, chariots, *pâlkis*, and *dûlís*, were employed amongst their fraternity to convey the procession, playing their long bugles (*kandal*[1] or *tûrai*), also *dhaks* and *modhhubs* (or musical instruments worn on the *dhak* and *modhal*, i.e., waist and shoulder, probably drums). Accompanied by singing and dancing girls, firing rockets (*bod-phaláo*), and distributing alms to the poor, the marriage procession obtains splendour."

Their language.

The language of the *Swíri* is essentially Sanskrit, and, oddly enough, those of this community who can write form the Sanskrit character perfectly, and those who cannot, speak a strange jargon of Sanskrit, mixed with what I call peasant-Hindî, the Sanskrit words, of which they are not a little proud, being employed quite unexpectedly here and there in their conversation. The *Swíri* is generally a shy and retiring man, holding little intercourse with other *gots* besides his own, and hence he preserves many characteristics which otherwise would have died out long ago.

I left particular instructions with a few natives of education who are helping me to enquire more fully into the *Swíris* dialect, for I suspected that the man I examined may have been peculiar in his speech, but, out of 47 of whose existence I am certain, not less than 15 can write, and I have since received several scraps from their hands on which merely names were inscribed, though some bore short accounts of their daily occupation, addresses, &c. ; but all these words were formed by *Shâstri* letters, and not in the *Munda-anchal*, or bastard Hindi character used by *Banias*. These

Their names.

people's names, of which I have collected a few, are perhaps worthy of a passing note, inasmuch that they sound strangely unfamiliar.

[1] From the Sanskrit *keru*, "the sun's rays."

The men's names invariably end in '*Sinha*,' while those of the women generally have '*bali*,' or '*vali*,' for a termination, *e.g.*, males, *Síta-lú Sinha* and *Mrith-Jith Sinha* (similar to *Sain Jith-S*); females, *Shastri-vali, Par-vat-vali*, &c.

Masonry.

Most of the habitations of a *Swírâni* origin that I have been able to see have of course long since assumed the form of mounds, but by excavation large bricks of excellent manufacture are found together with carefully dressed stone. I do not, however, know for certain of wood, even in a charred or burnt state, being exhumed, but my limited stay did not allow of my examining all the mounds, already detailed in the 'List of *Swírâni* Ruins,' of some of which information was derived from natives,—natives, however, who are perfectly trustworthy.

Vaidyanâth, which is one of the principal haunts of this tribe, possesses a remarkable number of most interesting remains of *Swírâni* origin. Of these I have already noticed the ancient temple which at present forms the basement of a small *Shivâla built of the sculptures it supplied. Nirporân Kot* has already been noticed, but this mound, principally formed of a light-coloured clay, for mortar, is particularly deserving of further notice and excavations hereafter, as it is a characteristic example of the ruined forts and castles of this fallen people, which abound in the neighbourhood.

Chronology.

From the allusion to the *Nâg-vansa* as taking part in the invasion of the *Swíri* kingdom,[1] this event might with comparative security be assigned to some time between A.D. 0 and A.D. 225, which is the period given by reliable authority to the rule of the nine Nâga kings, so that the people who form the subject of this account, once the rulers of the vast tract of

[1] This invasion may with equal probability be placed in a later date, as it was only the tribes named, and therefore the descendants, who are said to have combined against the Swíris, no mention being made of the kings, or founders of such tribes.

country before named, *of which they are the aborigines*, have been homeless wanderers for nearly 2,000 years.

Traditional names of some of the Swíri kings.[1]

Sâvaran | Soviroth,	The founders of the tribe said to have lived in the Satyûga, or 'Golden age.'
| Reponjea | Baharith | Sainjûth	Said to have ruled in the succeeding fabulous ages or Yûgas. Names of intermediate beings unknown.
| Pûrmedh | End of dynasty	The last Swíri king, dethroned by the alien forces.

JEWELLERY WORN BY THE SWIRI RACE.

Male.

Kanta or *mâla*, 'necklace;' *mûndri*, 'ring;' *ganj* or *gophâsi*, 'long necklace for men;' *kâdi*, 'anklet;' *kanphal*, 'earring;' *kandal*, 'large ornament for the ear,' often worn by kings.

Female.

Kardâni, 'waist ornament;' *kangan* or *kada*, 'bracelet;' *pouchi*, 'armlet'—these were both of gold and silver, in which were studded the following gems: *manæ:—Bajr-mani*, 'diamond;' *ûpardrak-mani*, 'sun gem;' *prachi-mani*, 'north-west gem;' *pith-mani*, 'topaz;' *soâth-mani*, 'white stone' (probably the same as *pokhrâj*—an inferior diamond); *chínta-mani*, 'wishing gem;' *go-nâdk-mani*, 'cow's

[1] I take this opportunity to answer a communication, received since an abstract of these researches was published in pamphlet form, as an ethnological paper, by the Society of the Anjúman-i-Panjáb, from General Cunningham, who objects "that the names in my genealogy of the Swíris belong to the very earliest period of the fabulous history of the Aryans."

Now, as these aborigines have been, as a people, extant for nearly 2,000 years, it would, I think, be a difficult matter to define the exact time this tribe was founded, and that "the very earliest period" is, most probably, that in which such an event took place. Moreover, it is quite impossible that I should hold myself responsible for any portion of the chronology or genealogy of the Swíris, having merely recorded faithfully all that is now preserved in the tradition of the Bahâris with regard to this people.

liver stone;' *go-ruthm-mani*, 'cow's head gem;' *pûshkak-mani*, 'flower stone;' *makrak- mani*, 'fish stone.'

WEAPONS USED BY SWÍRI RACE.

Pashûndi, 'a sharp, crook-like weapon, which is thrown over the enemy's neck and jerked (used in the Mahâ-bhârata);' *Gadha*, 'iron rod;' *Khârag*, 'sabre;' *Dand*, 'massive iron club;' *Dhânwa*, 'bow used by archers;' *Ban*, 'arrow;' *Thûnr*, 'large-headed arrow;' *Kûnd* or *Ardchandr*, 'arrows with crescent-shaped heads (from *Ard+chandr*, half-moon);' *Pas*, 'rope sling;' *Aukûsh*, 'iron instrument now commonly used by elephant drivers.'

APPAREL OF THE SWIRI RACE.

Male.

Pagri, 'tarban;' *dopati*, 'wrapper of two widths;' *toga*, &c.

Female.

Dhoti, 'skirt;' *chûnâri*; 'facial gauze.'

In order to test the accuracy of the data given in my list of Swîrânî remains, I have examined and compared most of these structural remains and many of the sites themselves, and have arrived at the conclusion that there can be little doubt of their identity with the period in which the aborigines flourished, and consequently of the truth of the local tradition which universally assigns them to that epoch. This is specially true of the *kots* of *Kirparân* and *Singapûr.*

It is popularly believed that, in most of the above remains, abundant treasure of sorts exists; and, albeit the idea, by long use, has assumed a conventional form, prompting the present generation of villagers to ascribe a secretion of wealth to all these mounds, it cannot be altogether refused, as the people in many instances speak from experience which the discoveries recorded in the list from information obtained from trustworthy sources will show.

The word, or rather *name*, of *Swîri-kûl*, 'tribe,' as used popularly in a genitive form; *Swîrânî+kot*, *i.e.*, 'Fort' (of)

'*Swíris*,' in relation to almost all these remains, but the word may well be a cabalistic sign for aught the general peasantry know of its meaning; and, while freely uttering this name to account for the origin of the remains they would fain describe, they know not what is recorded amongst the better classes of themselves anent these *Swíris*. The traditions, though vague in their nature, go to show that the name belongs to a great people who were the aborigines of this part of India, and of whom a few, though *a very few*, are actually existing, though occupying the humble grades of Hindû society. Thus far the darkness that enveloped this important ethnological subject is dispelled. Repeated and assiduous enquiries on my part, two protracted visits to the principal haunt of these people (*Vaidyanâth*), and the close examination of countless minor sites once famous under their rule, have not, I hope, been altogether ineffectual in divesting the early history of this tribe of some more of its obscurity, though the interesting subject of the origin and history of this race still affords a large field for later and more able enquirers.

The correct orthography of the name by which this tribe should be called has given rise to the foregoing six different spellings, *i.e.*, *Sûir*, *Sivira*, *Savara*, *Sivra*, *Sûar* and *Saur*;—this difference is, however, more of an orthoepic than an orthographic nature, and we must not even suppose that *Seora* has been intended in any of the above rendering, as, in that case, we should simply have the *Jains* confounded with the object of our enquiries, for this sect is commonly called *Seora*, or 'the shaven heads.'

The *written characters* of some of the Brâhmans of this part of India, besides the *pronunciation* of the people themselves of *their own* tribal name, which I still distinctly remember, induces me to say—and endeavour to prove as clearly as may be—that the orthography of this name should be *Sûíri* or *Swírí*, for I am convinced that it is derived from either one of two very natural sources, *i.e.*, *1st*, the name of the originator or *gotra* of the tribe, *Sâveram*, or *Sâvaran*; *2nd*, that of their fabled second king, *Soviroth*, as both these words by very slight modification make *Sewírí* far more readily than

will they form either of the six other forms before given; that is to say, शाविरथ, or simply शावंन, by substituting the vowel *o* in lieu of the first *a*, and the short *i* or *y* for the terminating *n*, will give us सुररथ or सै रि respectively. On the other hand सवीरोथ, deprived of its final *th* (थ) and supplied with a short *i* (ि), instead of the long vowel ी, makes exactly the same thing, scil. '*Swíri.*' Be it remembered also that this corruption, besides being so very slight, is of the most *natural* description, being merely the *abridged*, and not *altered*, forms of the name. When we add to this the pronunciation of the most learned *pândas* and the people themselves, the seldom attained result of the absolute correspondence, both phonetically and in the written language, with the original sources of derivation, ought to serve, in the present stage of our knowledge concerning these people, the purpose of providing us with their name.

Derivation of name.

I will conclude my account of Vâidyanâth with a very brief notice of the *Chera Kharwâra* tribe, a former king of whom (*Phûlchandr*) has already been mentioned in the account of *Deo-Mârkandih*, which occurs earlier in these pages; but it was not until I had left *Deo-Mârkandih* that I gleaned the few particulars that follow regarding these people.

The Chera Kharwâra.

Unlike the *Swíris*, the *Chera Kharwâras* are rather numerous, and, I believe, still entertain a chief or *Râjâ*; but they are not known to leave their own haunts, which extend over much of the hilly country lying to the south of Sassarâm.

The early capital of this race is said to have been on or near to the site now occupied by the village of *S'ahki*, about 30 miles south of *'Alampûr* (Sassarâm). Another ruined palace at *Lohârapûra*, 16 miles south-west of *S'ahki*, is assigned to the *Chera Kharwâra* tribe, also an old *dih* called *Târ-dih*, 2 miles south-east of *Alampûr*.

10.—HANÛMÂNGANJ.

This is a large village, situated on the northern side of the Ganges, and about 5 miles to the north of *Balkia*, in

the Ghazipur District. At *Hanûmânganj* there is an influential community of *Bania* and *Mahâjan* classes, and the place owes much to their liberality in constructing a number of sacred buildings, tanks, &c., for public use. Among these may be mentioned a very fine large tank called *Sibrâtbhagat-ka-pokhra*, or "the tank of the votaries of *Mahâdev*," and a temple dedicated to the patron deity of the village, also a large walled-in garden, built and laid out by one *Devi-Râm*, one of the many wealthy merchants who abound here.

Hanûmânganj.

Temple and tank.

The name of this village is, of course, derived from the Brâhmanical deity *Hanûmân*, the monkey-god, an effigy of whom is enshrined in one of the temples. The monkey is worshipped in almost every part of India, as typical of *Hanûmân*, who is supposed to have rendered many valuable services to the deity under his manifold forms or incarnations;—this, in lieu of the fabulous, heavenly architect and engineer, *Vishwakarmâ*, to whom nearly all material works for the gods are assigned, the monkey hosts are credited with the construction of the bridge which it is related in the *Râmâina*, bound the Ocean from Hindûstan to Ceylon (*Lankâ*), and over which *Râmchandra* is fabled to have marched to recover his wife *Sitâ*, who had been abducted by *Râvana*.

Derivation of name.

Among the finest temples dedicated to *Hanûmân*, the great monkey-temple of Banâras is noteworthy.

An annual fair is held at Hanûmânganj, and is, I am told, very numerously attended, principally by cattle-owners.

II.—BARMÂYAN.

(*See Plates XII, XIII, and XIV.*)

Almost adjoining *Hanûmânganj*, and situated 6½ miles to the north of the city of Ballia (Ghâzipûr), is the small and somewhat obscure village of *Barmâyan*,—marked *Burmaen* in Sheet No. 103 of Indian Atlas.

Barmâyan is an ancient site where there are abundant remains of a structural nature to testify to its former importance, and, as some of these remains are of undoubted *Bûddhistic* origin, a very early occupation of *Barmâyan* is clearly proved.

Barmâyan: its Bûddhistic monasteries, &c.

Foremost among the antiquities of *Barmâyan* is a ruined *Bûddhist* monastery which lies to the north of the village, between Barmâyan and a remarkably large lake called on Atlas Sheet No. 103 *Tal Sooraha.* Of these remains no tradition of any kind has been preserved locally, and the villagers know nothing of them, with the exception of an absurd legend, which they all thoroughly believe, that there is a golden image of the deity buried somewhere in the mound. Even the *Brâhman* element, generally so apt to assign a purely Brâhmanical origin to *all* ruins, be they *Bûddhistic* or otherwise, and to construe any legend there may remain, for the benefit of one or other of the *Pandavs*, or manifold incarnations of the deity, was quite at fault in the present instance; and the remains of this large *Bûddhist* monastery. I think there can be little doubt of the building having formerly been simply a monastery—is called by the ignorant populace by the conventional term *Dih*, which is a never-failing epithet,—the more ludicrous when one considers that *dih* has no affinity whatever with such ruins, and is simply a form signifying a deserted village or place from which an army has previously marched, and *not* the remains of a former edifice.

The old main walls of the monastery at *Barmâyan* cover an area of 100 feet from north to south by 67 feet from east to west; the north-west corner being at present just 150 feet and the north-east corner 100 feet distant from the water's edge of the huge lake which binds these ruins on the north. But the limits of the mound altogether, that is measuring through the centre, and including the dèbris, fallen bricks, &c., extend from north to south over 160 feet, and from east to west 110

Dimensions of mound.

feet. Of the integral walls, &c., detailed measurements are given in my plan of the remains.

I had considerable difficulty in tracing the old walls in order to make out the original design, as these ruins, before close examination, appear a mere chaos of bricks; but by carefully studying the ruins and with the aid of superficial excavations, I made out the plan. The *mahâjans and zamindârs* have been digging up and carrying off heaps of the bricks from this mound, also a number have been expended in the construction of the "new wall" shown in the plan, thus leaving great gaps and spaces in these ruins rather difficult to understand, and requiring some thinking out; so I have, in all cases, taken a straight and regular gap, or trench, to signify a wall, and even when these are filled up with dêbris, they are generally distinguishable from the more solid ground, as the spaces such trenches occupy yield more readily to the *phowra* of the labourer than the old and firmly settled earth.

Nature of ruins.

The landholders and merchants of the neighbourhood have raised a fund by general subscription from the *riats* of their several villages, in order to build a wall (*chardwali*) around these ancient remains, and, taking advantage of the elevation above the surrounding country thus cheaply gained, they intend to construct a huge square platform of brick-work upon the eminence afforded by the mound, as a basement for a prospective *Debi-stan* to be erected in the centre: steps also will be added, but, contrary to the usual custom, the architects propose to enter upon the platform from the *west;* this, however, is merely to suit the exigencies of the neighbouring village, as can be seen at a glance, for the huts and dwellings approach much nearer to the mound on the east than on the west, where alone there is sufficient space for the erection of steps. At present, however, the work of wall-building is completely stopped, and has been so, I was told, for some time past, owing to the fever that was raging in this part of the country. At the time of my journey to the north of the Ganges, this fever daily carried off some victims from each village, and

Modern works on mounds.



those that remained were all prostrated in their dwellings; and it was only by the assistance of the police and my chuprassies' praiseworthy and untiring zeal in finding three and four healthy labourers from each of the surrounding villages, that I was able to get sufficient help to carry on my excavations. There are numbers of very large bricks on the surface of this mound, and I exhumed some unbroken and beautifully burnt specimens measuring 17 inches long by 8½ inches broad, so that two placed together with the longest edges touching formed a square or a brick measuring just 17 inches both ways; these are 3 inches thick: others again, somewhat thinner, measure exactly 1 foot square, four forming the thickness of the main walls and also those of the two large chambers or cells which formed an integral portion of the structure. The walls of these cells are ornamented on the outside with three projections of 8 feet and four recesses, three 3 feet 6 inches and one 5 feet 11 inches in length, running from east to west, and making up the total length of the cells, *i.e*, 40 feet 5 inches. The western ends having only one projection of 7 feet 11 inches and two recesses of 4 feet 6½ inches each, which shows the width of these chambers to be exactly 17 feet, all these abutments project 10 inches from the main walls. The entrance to these cells are on the east each 3 feet wide, and the space afforded inside the chambers is 33 feet 5 inches in length by 9 feet in breadth.

Large bricks.

Dimensions of cells.

With the exception of the two long walls which I make out running north and south, the walls of this edifice throughout are 4 feet thick. These two walls are those for which perhaps the larger bricks were made, as being 17 inches long by 8½ inches broad, two lengths or four widths of these bricks would form the thickness of the walls of this arcade—for such I believe it to have been. It certainly was no chamber, as I could not find any end walls from east to west; only traces of the straight walls, 39 feet long by 2 feet 10 inches thick, exist from north to south, and hence it was

Dimensions of Monk's Promenade.

clearly an arcade or promenade for the monks to walk upon. On clearing away the rubbish between these two walls (this space is 19 feet) I found a *paka* floor built one brick thick and plastered over with *gatch* and broken brick evenly beaten down. This floor I cleared sufficiently to be certain that it extended over the space between these two walls and formed the floor of the walk.

The mound generally is about 20 feet above the fields, and I came upon this floor about 5 or 6 feet below the surface; hence I conclude, if it belonged to the same period as the monastery, that the walk must have had an eminence of 15 feet (or perhaps less if the courtyard itself was elevated) from the ancient courtyard floor, and was there approached by steps. Though perhaps wrong, my impression is that the building of these walls, though apparently also an early work, belongs to a period much later than that in which the ancient monastery was erected, and even after the monastery had fallen into disuse, for it is hardly probable that the architect of the original building would have only allowed a space of 2 feet 7 inches between the termination of the walls of what we will call 'the walks,' and the projections of the two long cells.

Details of integral cells of monastery.

The projections and recesses outside these cells from east to west are, respectively, 3 and 4 in number, making up the total length of 40 feet 5 inches, as follows:—

Recesses.	Projections.
5 feet 11 inches	8 feet.
3 " 6 "	8 "
3 " 6 "	8 "
3 " 6 "	
16 feet 5 inches.	24 feet.
TOTAL	40 feet 5 inches.

Yet 2 feet 7 inches is the mean space by which one walking

through the courtyard from east to west,—supposing they did not go round by the northern or southern sides of the cells (outside), where there is an ample space of 6 feet 6 inches, [1]—would be obliged to pass. On the other hand, we have the testimony of the larger bricks of which the walk is built, and this would probably lead to convince one of its antiquity, being at least as great as the rest of the building; but might not these have been utilised a second time? In my opinion the largest bricks were originally used to pave the main courtyard of the monastery, and hence could easily have been taken up and expended upon the arcade, which I propose to regard as at least an after-thought, and most probably belonging to a period after the remaining portions of the monastery had even fallen into ruin.

Comparative age of buildings.

It will be seen by the plan that the *zamindárs* and *mahájans* have built the wall considerably out of the parallel of the ancient walls, which latter I trace to be situated facing the cardinal points. The cause of this deviation is, however, quite apparent, as they have merely followed the lines of the village of *Barmayan* in constructing their walls, and regard the ruins only as a convenient mound and a source from which to get cheap materials.

Position of new wall.

In my excavations, I came across three very large earthen vessels, measuring 3 feet 6 inches high and 2 feet 3 inches in diameter, the mouths of which were nearly on a level with the surface of the mound. These pieces of pottery were slightly ornamented with lines and dots, and curiously enough filled with quick-lime, the clay of which these vessels were made, though apparently well burnt in the first instance, owing to close contact with the surrounding earth, and perhaps also to the large quantity of quick-lime they contained had perished, and consequently fell to pieces on being exhumed.

A party of *zamindárs* and *mahájans* came to my camp to enquire if they might proceed with the new temple which

[1] See plan of these ruins on plate XII.

they propose to build on this mound, and I had considerable difficulty in convincing them that I had no authority whatsoever either to hinder them from doing so or to give the necessary permission. Nobody made any objection to my all digging in the mound, and, on the contrary, all professed to constantly pray that I might discover the golden image which is supposed to be buried here.

This practice of utilising ancient mounds and the remains of former temples, monasteries, forts, palaces, &c.,—in fact, any eminence that afforded a basis as a foundation for new buildings of the kind,—is well worthy of note, inasmuch that it effectually explains the cause or origin of the maize of walls so often found upon excavating, and which almost mystify the archæologist when examining such mounds, for there can be little doubt that from time immemorial this has been a common practice, and thus sometimes, masonry, in itself ancient, is merely an addition to an earlier building.

Of the carved and ornamented bricks found in this mound, I have collected seven of the best specimens. These are the only traces left to us, or that can, by any means, be procured, of the embellishments or ornamental portion of this monastery, which must have been a building with considerable pretensions to architectural merit.

Description of ancient Buddhistic carved bricks.

The ancient Buddhistic bricks of which I made drawings may be described as follows. The corresponding numbers of the figures will be found in plates. Figure 1 is a bracket-like carving, apparently intended for the support of cornices, in which case a number would be employed at equi-distances; but only one was found, and that fractured. Figure 2 is an excellently burnt slab upon which is carved a geometrical pattern in bas-relief: this large tile, unless inlaid to a wall for a dado or skirting, which is not at all unlikely, might have formed a repeating, string, ornamental frieze. Figure 3 is carved in very high relief on the *edge* of a tile, both faces and sides of which are perfectly plain; and I suspect this may be one of the outer bricks with which the "walk" before mentioned was paved: if so, this promenade

must have had an ornamental upper edge all round.[1] Figure 4 was at first mistaken by me for a stûpa brick, but the curve is much too precipitate, and, besides, the brick is not at all wedge-shaped, being merely an oblong flat brick with a dualelliptical edge, one smaller than the other, the smaller being stopped by two flat tablets, and unless this formed the final upper edge (in a repeated form of an exterior cornice) I cannot think what purpose it could have fulfilled. Figure 5 is a thick solid brick, on two angles of which is carved the design shown in the plate, and was probably employed in exterior embellishments. Figure 6 is a continuous fretwork, having for its design some floral pattern–probably liliaceous—bounded by two flat borders. Figure 7, like figure 1, is a bracket, but of a different pattern, and belonging to a corner which, curiously enough, of all others appears to have been preserved. Figure 8 is a plan of figure 7, showing how far the pattern extends. The other remains in the neighbourhood of Barmâyan and *Hanúmân-ganj*, consist of a very large mound called *Myra Dih*, and in parts densely covered with broken bricks and pottery of a dark hue. These are doubtless the remains of an ancient city, as they are too extensive to be a fort or any such single building. There have been slight excavations in this mound, and a well, 10 feet deep and 6 feet wide, has been sunk on a spot where the débris is fairly thick. This well clearly shows the dêbris, potsherds, &c., to extend below the surface for a depth of about 5 feet. This mound is situated less than half a mile west of *Barmâyan*.

Neighbouring remains.

There is also a large *kacha dih*, only of clay, a little to the south of the Buddhist monastery, and tradition places the palace of *Lodi* in the centre of the *Sâraha Tâl*, or *Marahâ Nadi*, where the marshy ground certainly does rise out of the water and is eschewed by the ferrymen carrying passengers across the lake. This *Lodi* is the popular hero of this part of the country, and is credited with having performed most wonderful deeds. From what I hear I make him out

[1] See plates XIII and XIV for sketches of these carved bricks.

to have been the Indian Vulcan. I elicited the following legend regarding him from the resident Brâhmans.

Legendary history.

"*Lodis*" city (situated in the centre of the *Marahâ Nadi*) is called *Bastapûr*, and here his palace was, and his forge (for *Lodi* was also a blacksmith), buffaloes, cows, and religious establishment were at *Mirahdi*, a large mound less than half a mile to the west of Barmâyan (before mentioned as the probable remains of an ancient city) as Barmâyan is particularly favoured by the goddess *Debiji*.

"*Lodi* possessed another *garh* to the south of *Varâha*, where he used to worship *Devi* and where on one occasion, after cutting off his own head, he presented it at her shrine as an offering, but through the favour of this goddess his head again joined his body."

Several other miracles are related as having taken place on the many old sites in this neighbourhood. Thus, from the village of *Varâha*, this *Lodi* is fabled to have jumped with a single bound to his forge at *Myra-dih*, where, at the anvil, he wrought arms for his following.

Ancient name of lake.

The origin of the large *tâl* is thus strangely accounted for: *Chaudinia*, the wife of *Lodi*, while cooking rice, is said to have allowed the refuse water to overflow from the cauldron—this tale provides us with the ancient name of this lake, as it goes on to say that this refuse rice-water formed the huge sheet of water then called *Marâhanadi*, from *mâr* or *jhor*, "rice-water."

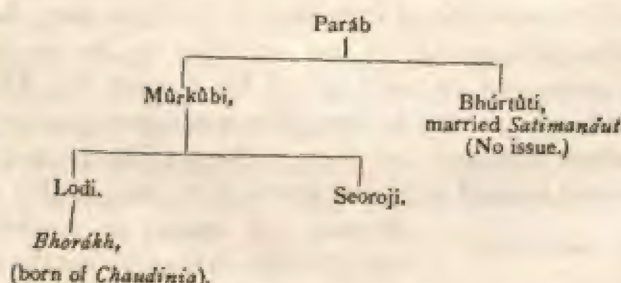
Modern name of Lake.

The name of *Sûrâha*, the *Sooraha* of the Atlas Sheet, is of later date, and derived from that of the leper king *Sûrâth* of *Ajudhia*, who, going on one occasion to the *jangal* to hunt, is supposed to have asked his servant for drinking water, and, on the man bringing him some muddy water from a pool where buffaloes had been bathing (*Bhansa-ka-lot*), to have bathed himself with, and drank of it; but, as this water cleansed his leprosy on touching it, *Râjâ Sûrâth*, on discovering the extraordinary virtue of this water, asked his attendant whence he procured it, and on learning, the *Râjâ* instantly went

and bathed thoroughly in this muddy pool, and was permanently cured of his malady. It is then fabled that, grateful for his cure, *Rájá Súráth* ordered that on this very spot a tank should be excavated[1] 5 *kos* square, and this tank, which was merely an addition of the more ancient *Maráha Nadi*, was subsequently called *Súráha-Tál*, after *Rájá Súráth* of *Ayodhia*. This prince is also credited with having built five shrines to the deities in the centre of the *tál*, and also at the villages of *Asek*, *Maríta*, *Sakkhapúr*, and *Ghúrowli*, shrines to *Káli*, *Dúrga*, *Mahádev*, and *Ganesa* respectively.

After leaving *Barmáyan* I heard much more of the *Lodi* of that place, whose fame appears to have reached even as far as *Banáras*, where I heard what follows from some learned men who were visiting the great *Dhamek* stûpa when I also happened to be there. "The wife of *Lodi, Chaudinia*, was a princess with whom he eloped, jumping with her from *Gházipúr* (probably *Barmáyan*) across the Ganges: thereupon the sacred Ganges, whose emblem is a crocodile, refusing the offering of milk he had carried in two large vessels besides his wife, cursed him for his presumption in binding her stream by a single leap," after which it is related how that he was conquered by enemies, &c. I also got a portion of the genealogy of *Lodi*, who certainly belongs to *Barmáyan*—

GENEALOGY OF LODI.



[1] Unlike nine of the ten lepers of old.

The legend, as told to me in its full form, has many fantastic features and passages, but such would occupy too much space to give here, and I have confined myself to that portion of the tradition which serves to give us the ancient name of the large lake to the north of the ancient *Bûddhistic* monastery at *Barmâyan* (which is locally sometimes called by the ancient name and sometimes by that of the Atlas Sheet), and which deals with the existing remains of the neighbourhood.

12.—DÛMRÂON.

I visited the seat of this old *Behâri Râj en route* from *Baijnâth* to *Ballia*, *Hanûmânganj*, and *Barmâyan*.

Dûmrâon.

The city, palace, pavilion, and garden-house of the *Mahârâjâ*, &c., are well worth seeing, though it must be confessed at the time of my short visit to *Dûmrâon* everything looked its best on account of the approaching visit of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who was expected to be present at the annual races, then deferred from December to January owing to the recent death of the late *Mahârâjâ*.

The *Mahârâjâ's* garden-house is handsomely furnished and set apart for the reception and accommodation of officers visiting the state, by the thoughtful suggestion of the enlightened manager; and here one meets with much hospitality and every assistance in the procurement of suitable transport to the neighbouring suburbs.

In the compound of the garden-house, which is flanked by temples, there is a very fine old stone tank, where in the morning the *Brâhmans* are seen at their devotions.

Principal buildings.

The principal buildings here are the palace and pavilion of the Mahârâjâ, both excellent examples of modern Hindû architecture, though I believe many fine old buildings exist in the city, but my stay here was very limited, and wholly taken up with arrangements for my journey across the Ganges, and hence I was unable to examine this flourishing Hindû city.

13.—BANÂRAS.

Banâras.

While at Baijnâth, I heard of an inscribed copper tablet of *Samûdra Gûpta*, who reigned over Magadha, &c., about 150 A.D. This inscription was said to be in the possession of a Pandit of Banâras. So, late in November, I visited the sacred city of *Banâras* or *Varûnsûra*, commonly called by the people *Kâsi*, and also *Kâsiji*, an abbreviation of the ancient *Kashiapûra*.[1] My object was, if possible, to obtain possession of this copper-plate, and also to get some assistance from the Pandits there in deciphering various other inscriptions then with me, for it must be known that Banâras is one of the most celebrated spots in India for the literary class of Brâhmans, who are here almost without number. These men establish amongst themselves academies for the propagation of religious learning, and in whatever direction the visitor to Banâras may turn, he is confronted by the devout priest, seemingly much interested in his *patra* (inscribed tablets). Apparently this large and influential community of *gûrûs*, "religious preceptors," gain their livelihood for the most part from the donations of pilgrims to the countless shrines here. Indeed, the principal source of income to the general population is derived from the pilgrims who travel hundreds of miles, suffering innumerable hardships on their way, to offer their mites at the shrines of their household and patron deities. When I was at Banâras the place literally swarmed with pilgrims.

I was sorry to hear that the inscription on copper, which I was in quest of, had been sent to Bengal, and therefore I was unable to even get a sight of it.

14.—BIHTA.

I was somewhat surprised to find so prominent a place as Satna, marked in No. 89 sheet of the Indian Atlas series as

[1] The usual derivation of the name of Banâras is from *Varana* and *Asi*, the two streams between which the city is situated. The joint names make *Varanási*.—*A. Cunningham.*

Burdudee, or *Badadih*, as the name should be spelt. Apparently, Satna was only known by this name of *Burdudih* as late as 1849, the date of my map, and probably much later, as the name is still used by natives, and derives its present name, I presume, from the Satna River, a continuation of the *Tons*, or *Tomas*, which binds it on the south.

Bihtar, former and present name of Satna.

The old village of *Bihta*, or *Beetha*, as it is sometimes pronounced, is situated one march to the south of Allahabâd, and therefore lies directly on the high road to *Rewa*.

There can be no doubt of the antiquity of *Bihta*, as the neighbourhood has yielded divers Bûddhist inscriptions some years ago, and during my day's halt I found many large bricks and fragments of sculpture scattered all over the village and on the banks of a fine large tank hard by. Also in the village there are numerous shapeless masses of brick-work, decayed walling, &c.

Amongst the rocks to the north I found a very regularly engraved diagram on a flat portion of the rock which represented a chess-board similar to the *Chopa* or *Jûa-satranj* diagram made by the natives, for a like game, out of patch-worked cloth of various colours to distinguish the squares, or compartments, from each other.

Discovery of engraved *Satranj*.

The people seem to make little or no use of the stone abounding in this part of the country, which, if systematically quarried, would yield ample results on its being made use of for metalling the important road through this part of Baghelkhand. It must be admitted, however, that the transport of this stone to the desired spot would be rather difficult at first, until due arrangements had been made in the way of minor cart-roads leading on to the highway. The expenditure on earth-works would thus be greatly reduced. A late Gazette has some very appropriate remarks on this subject by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who depreciates the present heavy outlay on district roads and earth-works generally that crumble away shortly after being made. At present it is only in very exceptional cases that this stone seems to be used,—

for example, when a temple is built in close proximity to the mouth of a quarry; this is particularly the case in the rock temples that I discovered at *Bhirpûr*, about 40 miles further south of *Bihta*, and, about 25 miles still further in a south-westerly direction, an enterprising Bengali has erected lime-kilns amidst the wild rocky country whence his material is quarried.

For a detailed account of *Bihta* and the adjacent Garhwa, the third volume of the Archæological Survey Reports, page 46, &c., may with advantage be consulted.

15.—SEORÂJPÛR—BADGARH.

Seorâjpûr is a flourishing town about 30 miles to the south of Allahabâd, and close to *Badgarh*, where are the remains of a fortified castle very similar to the neighbouring *Baghel* fortress at *Bhamani*, which will be described in my account of that place further on.

While at Seorâjpûr, the Baghel Chief, or *Râjâ* from Bârah, came with a crowd of attendants to pay me a visit, and, it must be confessed, this gentleman has a most novel method of travelling, for, notwithstanding his being gloved and almost inundated with scent, a large herd of camels and a few elephants, numbering in all about thirty animals, were caused to run ahead of the cortège, thus needlessly disturbing the dust, to, apparently, no earthly advantage unless indeed for display, which, if the object in view, was a lamentable failure. I, however, gleaned much information from him with regard to the antiquities of the surrounding country, and especially the

Badgarh Fort.

Fort of *Badgarh*, which is situated about 4 miles north-west of the railway station at Seorâjpûr. It has no features that are uncommon to the generality of Baghel fortresses, save its size, which is considerably in excess of its neighbours and a number of idol temples *inside* the enclosure. As the exploration of *Badgarh* formed no part of the work I then had in hand, and my only object in visiting it being its accessibility in

lying almost on the road to Rewa, I made no excavations here, and cannot do better than quote from General Cunningham's Account of *Garhwa*, page 55, volume 3 of Archæological Reports. *Garhwa* and *Badgarh* are both commonly used to designate these remains, and mean virtually the same thing, *i.e.*, large fort.

"The walls of this fort are of little height and are not protected by a ditch—an oversight which could not have happened in this position if the place had been intended for defence. The recent age of the parapets is proved by one of the corbels used to support them bearing an inscription in modern letters, along with the figure of a horse, which is half cut away to form the slope of the outer face of the corbel.

"As it now stands, Garhwa is a stone enclosure of pentagonal form, the largest side on the west being 300 feet, north side 250 feet, and each of the two short eastern faces only 180 feet. The main entrance is on the south side, and there are two posterns—one at the west end of the northern face, and the other near the northern end of the eastern face. To the west there is a large sheet of water from 500 to 600 feet in length, which was formed by the western wall of the enclosure acting as an embankment right across the natural bed of the stream. An outlet for the surplus water in the rains has been cut through the fields to the north. To the east the stream has been embanked in two places; but only the upper one at present holds water, and that imperfectly, as the embankment is broken, and the water is now some 400 feet distant from the walls. When the embankment was intact the lake must certainly have reached up to these steps, as there are projecting stones placed at intervals in one of the lower courses, which were intended for bathers to stand upon just above the level of the water. At the base of the western wall there is a similar flight of steps leading down to the water's edge, and extending along both the north and south banks of the little lake."

16.—GHUMAN-KOH-CHOWKANDIH.

Ghûmân and Koh-chowkandih: The former history of this jerownha.

The village of *Ghûmân* has long been associated with its neighbouring town *Koh-Chowkandih*, or *Chowkanda*, and these two together once formed a chieftainship, or *Râj*, similar to that of *Simâria*, only that the *Simâria Râjâ* or

Thâkur was tributary to Rewa, while the province, or *jerownha*, of *Koh Chowkhadi* and *Ghûmân* were, in former times, independently governed. The constant finds between this *jerownha* and the surrounding *râjâs* at the time when the above arrangements obtained have become the subject of songs and legends innumerable.

Ghûmân, or *Gooman*, as map 88 has it, is said to have been the capital of this *jerownha Râj* of *Koh-Chowkandih* and *Ghûmân*. It is now a mere village, though apparently an ancient site, if the quantity of broken brick, pottery, and old brick-walls are to be taken as evidence of early occupation.

Derivation of name.

The large and flourishing town of *Koh-Chowkandih*, or *Chowkhadi*, as it is often called by the *pahâris*, the hill tribes who people it, is situated at the foot of a high mountain just 35 miles north, north-east of Rewa. But the latter form may be at once rejected as a mispronunciation of the ignorant people, the name being derived from the squarish mountain hard by and meaning simply "the square mountain," or, if the terminating *dih* be accepted, "the village of the square mountain."

As I heard of the rock temples and sculptures of *Bhîrpûr* while encamped at a small village called *Simra*, on the high road to Rewa, I was tempted to leave the good road and travel by the precarious tracks which lead to *Bhîrpûr*, thus altering my originally planned route by an addition of many miles owing to the utter absence of roads across the barren and rocky wastes, quite uncultivated for miles around which lay immediately to the south of the line of country chosen by the railway authorities from *Badgarh* to *Markandih*.

A Baghel mountain-pass.

The mountain-pass lying between the villages of *Koni* and *Bhamani* is very precipitous and narrow, having large rocks and boulders in every direction. This *ghâtti* is most difficult of ascent from the east, even for a hill-pony, and almost impossible for laden camels, that keep constantly falling, and this necessitates their being instantly relieved of

their burdens and reladen. It will be seen what a difficult, and indeed dangerous, pass this is when I found my forward camels (sent on the day before at 1 P.M.) in the middle of the pass next morning at 6½ A.M., when I was gaining the summit, fully expecting to find my camp ready, as usual, at *Bhamani*, about 5 miles still further on, and had I not arrived on the scene it is doubtful that they would ever have gained the top of this mountain, their arrival at *Bhamani* being still more doubtful. The view from the summit of this pass is, however, most charming and extensive; giving a bird's-eye view of a vast tract of country, with its rivers and woods stretching as far as the eye can see, and the descent towards the south-west is gradual and quite even. Here I saw a very large "*náogaja*" of undressed stones, flanked by two smaller ones; this might seem, as indeed it is, a strange anomaly "smaller *náogajas*" or "nine yards," but the expression is not regarded as such by the people. The fact is, the graves of these gigantic, and wholly monstrous, *pír*, or genii, are only known by this name, which conveys the conventionally believed length of their supposed occupants; and, be the heaps either smaller or larger, they are still *náogajas*.

Three náogajas.

A fair proportion of merchants' houses and shops exist in the busy little hill town of *Koh-Chokanda*, and the people tell of sixty *garhs*, or ancient forts, belonging originally to *Koh-Chokandih*, which, they boast, had a *Ráj* of its own and was once managed independently.

Town of Chowkandih.

The last *Rájá* is said to have been a *Baghel* and *Rájpút*, but most *Baghel* families of any consequence claim the latter distinction. I found several pedestals of statues and fragmentary sculptures here, but unfortunately none were inscribed.

17.—BHAMANI.

The large village of *Bhamani* is situated one march to the north-east of the *Baghelt* own of *Simária*, and almost

adjoining the *tola* of *Singh Râm Singh*, written, by the way, in Atlas Sheet No. 89, *Jing zam Singh-ka-tola ;* this may be called a "free" rendering of the name in every sense of the word.

Fortress of Bhamani.

The remains at *Bhamani* consist of a comparatively modern *Bagheli* fortress, a roofless temple, and a large octagonal stone well. Upon the site now occupied by this *kot*, or "fort," I believe a *kacha kot*, or "mud fort" (probably built of unbaked bricks) formerly stood. This former stronghold is said to have belonged to a *Râjpût* (*Baghel* chief named *Seo-Das Singh*, a tributary of the then king of *Simâria*. The present structure of stone and burnt brick was raised by a descendant of this *Seo-Dâs Singh*, named *Jagmohan Singh*, during the reign of *Bishû-Nâth Singh*, who is said to have besieged this fortress in the early part of the present century and, though it was vigorously defended by *Jagmohan*, made it tributary to the Rewa State.

It is also locally related that, at a later period, the grandson of *Jagmohan Singh*, *Amar Singh* by name, made the fort a residence for his wives' *thakorîn ;* of these wives the last survivor died of snake-bite at an advanced age only five years ago.

Though a comparatively modern building, the *Bhamani-kot* is much ruined and exhibits unmistakeable traces of having seen much actual service. Besides this, it perpetuates and brings to light much that is interesting in the history of this fallen *Baghel* family, who were within a few centuries counted among the most powerful families in this part of Central India. I was shown by the villagers the residence of the unhappy *Thakorîn*, whom they call *Chandan-Kuar*, and of whom they all speak with tender regret, declaring that it was on account of her humble disposition, and the habit of sitting on the bare ground in the performance of religious ceremonies, that the wicked *nag* attacked her. These dwellings are within the enclosure, small and *kacha*, built over the integral buildings that were raised to the ground in the siege. The late *Thakorîn* is said to have kept

a small retinue of about thirty servants, among whom was one *Kaith*, "writer," the rest being guards, domestic servants, and female companions. From the dense growth of *jangal* in certain parts of this fort, I should think the existence of numerous snakes highly probable. The enclosure is wholly abandoned now and only used as a storehouse for grain.

Dimensions of Jagmohan Singh-ka-kot.

The fort covers an area of ground, 201 feet from north to south, and 279 feet from east to west, being surrounded by a ditch, which is walled in with perpendicular walls, 1 foot 10 inches thick. This moat still holds water. There is yet another outwork, 2 feet 1 inch thick. The walls of the main building are 2 feet 6 inches in thickness at top, but probably many feet more at base, and are constructed with scolloped ornament along the battlements, which are at the usual oblique angle; parallel to which are four bastions, at the corners of the structure pierced with niches pointing down towards the ditch. There are also two pierced towers inside the enclosure at the north-east and south-east corners, but I could not make out any towards the west. Divers other brick buildings, appearing to have suffered much from warfare, some being almost demolished, are to be seen in every direction within the limits of this fortress. On the north there is still a massive drawbridge, and, on this aspect also, the only entrance the *kot* possesses; this gateway has been repaired (though I fear not *restored*, as its diminutive ornamentation, &c., corresponds but poorly with the remaining portions of the fort) by the agriculturists, who have made a small section of the space inside serve as a granary, and a heavy wooden door has been added. But the greater portion of these remains are inaccessible on account, as before remarked, of being overgrown with very thick jangal and strewn with rubbish of all descriptions. Indeed, the building generally has become very much dilapidated, especially the outworks, the greater part of which falling in have filled up the ditch in several places. The fort of *Jagmohan Singh* nevertheless, in its simple solidity, is an imposing edifice and a fair specimen

Construction of fortress.

of a feudal castle of the last century. All the bricks here are small, that part of the fort under water being built with carefully dressed stones.

To the east of this fort there is a fine large stone well of octagonal form. This well, still much in use, appears to belong to the same period as its neighbouring fort, for which it was probably excavated.

Remains.

At the popular shrine here are several fragmentary sculptures mostly belonging to the *Vaishnâv* sect, the chief statue being a large representation of *Mahâvira*, probably another name for *Pâras-râm*,[1] the warlike manifestation of *Vishnû*, which this *Mahâvira* invariably resembles. This incarnation, which may be called the Mars of the Hindûs, is very popular all over *Bâghel-khand*. The image of *Mahâvîra* occupies a prominent place in a large percentage of the temples here.

18.—JHÍRNA.

(*See Plate XVIII.*)

Jhírna: inscriptions, &c.

By dint of much enquiry, while at *Bhamani*, I heard from an old *Brâhman* who was travelling towards Rewa that he knew of an inscription among the rocks distant about 5 miles north, a little west from *Bhamani*. He professed total ignorance regarding the purport of this inscription, saying that he only saw it by chance many years ago, and that he thought few knew even of its existence. This I subsequently found to be quite true, as none of the villagers at *Bhamani* had heard of it. Securing the guidance of my informant, I despatched some servants to bring me more definite information, as the direction indicated was exactly contrary to that in which I was then marching.

[1] Although this name is often translated "the great hero Râmchandra," I think the Parasrâm incarnation has a more distinctly military significance. [The true name is Paraşurâma, or Râma with the battle-axe, or *parasu*.]—A. Cunningham

On hearing that the inscription was a Sanskrit record in six lines, I at once moved towards *Jhirna*, or "the water-fall," situated amongst a large process of rocky mountains surrounded by much barren country. In a secluded nook among these rocks, I found a most picturesque cascade, emitting a large volume of beautifully clear water, which, after washing a large natural plateau, 87 feet long from east to west, and 33 feet broad from north to south, dashes impetuously into the precipitous ravine to the north. This gulf descends perpendicularly for 115 feet. The inscription is situated near the centre of the plateau before mentioned, and is engraved on the west side of a *Saivite argha*, the basin-shaped receptacle for the *lingam* symbolical of *Mahádev*. The *argha* measures 1 foot 3 inches in diameter, and is itself hewn out of rock floor. Behind, or to the south of, this natural rock platform rises another vertical wall, as it were, of rocks 57 feet high, thus forming the southern wall of what we may call a natural rock temple, and, as the only aspect exposed is a northern one (for the rocks just here overhang and project considerably towards the top and east and west sides respectively), it is seldom or never touched by the sun's rays, and in every way the votaries of *Mahádev* must in former times have worshipped at their ease in this natural temple among the rocks, which at least possesses the advantage of being in the truest sense "built not by hands."

Dimensions of inscribed cascade, &c.

Situation of inscription, *argha*, &c.

Natural rock temple.

In its general form the mountain process facing, or lying immediately to the north of, this inscribed cascade, bears a strong resemblance to a vast horse-shoe or amphitheatre open to the north and stretching in that direction as far as the eye can discern.

The waterfall emanates from the perpendicular rock overlooking the inscription on the south, and previously described as forming "the southern wall" of this shrine. Formerly, it is believed, the streams flowed with great force over the spot occupied by the *Saivite* font, and a deep narrow crevice cut in this rock floor was obviously intended for a drain to

carry off the surplus water after it had washed the *lingam*. Indeed, it becomes quite apparent that this spot was chosen for the inscribed font, as it afforded a continuous oblation of pure water for the shrine generally kept saturated by artificial means elsewhere; and a few *Bráhmans* here say since the water ceased to flow with its wonted abundance over the *Mahádev* and chose for itself a different channel, the shrine was probably abandoned and forgotten:—certain it is that none of them knew of its existence until brought by me to the spot from *Bhamani*. The *lingam* itself is *non est*, having disappeared long before any one can remember, and the bulk of water from the waterfall has moved a few yards distant from the inscription, which is nearly dry at times.

Derivation of name.

I have adopted the name of *Jhírna* "waterfall" for this spot, as it appears simplest and most appropriate, being the Hindî form from *ájhlna*, "to pour." But some Mussalmâns from a neighbouring *nagr* have a slightly altered meaning for *Jhírna*, which they call *Jinna*,[1] ascribing to it the meaning of *Jinori-ka-hamâm*, or "the Fairies' bath;" but, as the word was written for me on the spot, with the initial *Jh* most distinctly, I have no hesitation in taking the former and simpler sense as the true one, and, being the Hindî form, it is probably of earlier date.

The only habitations for a distance of some miles around these rocks are a few huts built merely of leaves. In these make-believe dwellings a number of lime-burners live. Here there are also six furnaces, in which, I believe, much good stone-lime is calcined, the yield being about 70 *mans* of lime out of every 200 *mans* of stone burnt, the residue is then kept until the seasonal rains saturate it, when it is again calcined, and the yield from this second burning is about half that originally obtained from the kiln. This establishment belongs to an enterprising Bâbû at Mirzapûr, who, noting the abund-

[1] This, however, refers more particularly to the clear, running brook hard by a branch of the *Tons*, flowing to the east of my inscription, and where numerous bathers are seen; for these Mussalmâns had never before seen the *inscription*, though they had often passed within a few hundred yards of it.

ant supply of stone and wood from the rocks and *jangal* in this neighbourhood, started it some years ago. I was rather afraid lest, one of these days, they pluck up my discovery, in the course of their blastings, and consign it also to the kiln, but was glad to hear that the rock-process in and about the inscribed valley was unfitted and yielded not the desired lime. The fact is, these lime-burners get their raw material from some quarries a short distance to the north of my inscription.

This inscription is the only one yet found of the *Kalachûri* king *Gauggeya Deva* of *Chedi*, and is dated. For the reading of the name I am indebted to General Cunningham.

19.—KAKARÎRÎ.

Kakarîrî.

Situated on the north side of *Mynha-ghât*, and nearly 5 miles north-west of the waterfall just noticed. The *Baghel* village of *Kakarîrî* is surrounded with many objects of interest; the most noteworthy of these are to the north of the village, where the *jangal* is pretty dense, and large game, including tigers and leopards, are known to flourish. To the north of *Kakarîrî* there are the following remains: A mud fort (*kacha garh*), in the remaining battlements of which there are still traces of partial stone-works, and it exhibits the remains of two diagonal stone walls. This fort measures 275 feet from its northern to southern extremities, and 250 feet east and west, and is about 15 feet high. I could not find any specific traces of *outer* or *surrounding* walls here, as, on account of the material of which they were built, they have most probably mingled with the interior dêbris; but from the increased height of the edges of this mound, and judging by the width of these edges, the walls must have been very broad. There appears to have been an entrance to this *garh* on the north, where there are the remains of an early Brâhmanical temple. Upon these remains the

Dimensions of *garh*.

Remains of early temple.

villagers have erected another and smaller *shivâla*, which they call *Bhyrâmji-ka-Mandir*, or "the temple of *Bhyrâmji*," who is generally represented as mounted upon a dog, and is supposed to have guarded *Kâsiji* (*Varûn Sûra*) as *kotwâl* of that sacred city. This modern shrine is 18 feet 6 inches long by 14 feet 9½ inches broad and 7 feet high, but when the thickness of wall is deducted (2 feet 4 inches), it will be seen they have but little room inside—only 10 feet 1½ inches by 13 feet 10 inches, but this is a common type of the more modern village temples in *Baghelkhand;* hence those of Bhîrpûr, to which we shall come presently, are more noteworthy.

East of the village, and close to a fine old well, stands a large *pipal* tree (*Ficus Religiosa*), at the foot of which there are a few statues, *e.g.*, a headless representation of a female, probably *pârvati*, an obelisk covered with figures, and numerous other fragments, *linga*, *&c.*

Alha-ka-Bâitka.

Two miles north-east of the village of *Kakarîri*, there is an old *Bâitka*, or columnated edifice of stone, having twelve octagonal pillars, which, along with their bases and capitals, measure 6 feet 1 inch high. These are still standing and in parts surmounted by architraves 11 inches deep, which once supported its roof. It will thus be seen that this building was originally 7 feet high, but it has long been roofless. Situated facing the cardinal points, the hall, a *Mahâmandirpûr*, of this building measures 22 feet 11 inches from east to west and 15 feet 9 inches from north to south.

Dimensions of *Bâitka.*

Ancient bâolis.

Further north there are a few fine old *bâolis*, or water reservoirs, with steps: these are, however, now perfectly dry and much filled up; they measure 18 feet long by 10 feet 9 inches wide and are generally of stone walls 1 foot thick, and, together with the remains of an ancient well of stone, 17 feet 5 inches square and 37 feet deep, probably belong to a common period, when this site was a flourishing capital.

In the adjacent *jangal* we found the following sculptures:—

1. Group of two females . .	7 feet 11 inches high.
2. Do. male and females .	7 „ 9 „ „
3. A male figure . . .	2 „ 6 „ „
4. A group of three figures . .	8 „ 1 inch „
5. A group of many figures . .	3 „ 3 inches „
6. Numerous fragments, etc.	

Sculptures discovered in *jangal*.

I found no inscriptions on any of these sculptures, nor any trace of a building they may have adorned, but the *jangal* here is very thick, and may have covered the foundation of such structures.

The first building mentioned is commonly called *Alha-ka Bâitka,* after the famous warrior *Alha,* whose achievements are sung all over these parts, and the tale extant regarding the *Ahir* chiefs, *Alha* and *Udal*, with their master *Parmal,* are almost without number.

The term *Bâitka*, or *Vâitka,* is applied to all ruins, whether of brick or stone, with the exception of ruined forts, castles, palaces, and deserted sites, *e.g.*, villages which are generally styled *garh, avaran, kot*, or *dih* respectively. Those remains comprised under the head of *Vâitka* are properly of five denominations, *scil* of rest-houses, temples, mosques, private edifices, and fallen cities, though the latter are often called wrongly *garh* by the people. Shapeless barrows and stûpas are correctly classified as follows: *Thûpa,* also Tope, when in fair preservation, *thûpi, bihta, dhîr*, and *tila,* if much ruined, though *tila* also means almost any eminence, and is even applied to certain natural hills. Ruins called *Vihâr* are exclusively *Bûddhistic* as the term means groups of cells or monasteries which are called at the present seat of *Bûddhism, i.e.*, Barma, "*kyoung.*"

20.—BHIRPÛR.

(*See Plates XV, XVI, and XVII.*)

Bhirpur: situation, &c.

Bhirpûr is an obscure village situated just 6 miles south-south-east of *Ghûmûn*, and midway between that place and *Koh-chowkandâ*

da, altogether apart from the roads and in a very secluded portion of Central India. The temples I discovered here are four in number, clustered together in close proximity to each other.

Elaborately carved rock temple.

Foremost among these is a rock-built temple, standing at the southern end of the group. This is a most curiously designed building, being elaborately carved in the dark-coloured stone from the surrounding rocks. The floor is raised from the ground 9 feet, and is approached from the east by a flight of steps. On either side of the entrance (north and south) are a pair of

Dimensions, &c., of rock temple.

stone seats, 2½ feet high, running the whole length of the building; these in their turn support six small ornamented stone columns, measuring 3 feet 9 inches high, and most of the architraves that once supported this roof of the temple are still *in situ* resting on the pillars; and as these lintels are 2 feet 3 inches deep, we have a present total height of 17 feet 6 inches for the rock temple of Bhirpûr. But, as I satisfied myself that the ceiling of this temple was built of overlapping slabs (the centre ornament (*Sûrûj-mûkhi*) of which ceiling I recovered from the surrounding remains), the original height, with its umbrella-shaped pinnacle, afterwards discovered, must have been over 25 feet,—the total length of the structure is 21 feet 6 inches east and west, and 14 feet 10 inches from north to

Early mounds.

south; but the eminence, or *dhîr*, upon which these ruins stand is altogether 51 feet from east to west and 42 feet from north to south.

The temple proper, or space between pillars north and

Details of rock temple.

south, is 6 feet 11 inches, and from the entrance to sanctum east and west 7 feet 7½ inches. In the centre of this raised floor, they have lately placed a *Mahâdev* font and *lingam*. I say "lately," because I am confident the establishment of *Saivism* in this temple belongs to a comparatively modern date, and that the edifice was originally dedicated to *Vishnû*. In order to prove this with due clearness, it will only be necessary to mention a few discoveries I made in and about these remains:—

Firstly, in an insignificant, modern temple, which I will

Identification of rock-cut temple with the temple of Bhir.

describe more fully hereafter as "number four," I found a very old statue of *Mahâ-vira*. Now, *Mahâvîra* or *Mahâbhir* is certainly the patron deity of this place, and, in all probability, the source whence the village derives its name *Bhîrpûr*. The village has been known by this name, I ascertained from the most reliable authorities, for several generations, and, consequently, long prior to the small temple now enshrining the *Mahâvîra* statue. This temple is a modern structure built by a *Byrâgi* within the present century. Hence it follows the statue must have been *appropriated* to the use of this small temple, which is very popular, from some other that was probably falling into an unserviceable condition. It now only remains for us to find out which among this group is the despoiled temple, and I think it is satisfactorily found in the southern rock structure already named, because, in the first place, this temple is wholly unadapted to lingh worship, having little capacity in the body of the building for the necessary paraphernalia of *argha* and water oblations; secondly, it had a regular shrine, or sanctum, upon which to display statues—a feature wholly unnecessary for a linga temple; and, lastly, I found traces against the western wall (such as would naturally be left by the extraction of a figure) corresponding exactly in dimensions to *the figure of Mahâ-vira now in the Byrâgi Mandir*.

I think little remains to be added in order to prove that the remains of the large rock temple, now erroneously called *Mahâdev-ka Mandir* represents the original *Vaishnâv* temple of *Mahâ-vira*—in all likelihood the earliest temple on the site, and that from which the village adjoining derives its name.

Construction.

The lower portion of this temple, beneath the raised floor, is a perfectly solid basement built of huge blocks of rock carefully dressed and squared, and the construction throughout is of remarkably large and well chosen stones, richly carved in several places.

Nothing is known of this interesting building (for a view of which see Plates) except that it was built many generations

ago by *Bihâri Banjâra.* These *Banjâras* are a caste of carriers rather than merchants, who live by carrying upon bullocks certain commodities, such as *ghee*, cotton, tobacco, &c., which they sell or exchange advantageously in their usually extensive travels. They are said to have been very wealthy in early times, but modern locomotion has naturally contracted their field, and consequently their profits, much.

Amongst the ruins at the foot of this temple, I found a slab of stone 6½ inches thick, upon which a halo, or *Ṣûruj-mûkhi*, is sculptured in relief. This fragment is interesting on account of its undoubted connection with the temple itself,

Discovery of carved ceiling, or Sûruj-mûkhi.

as it measures just 4 feet 9 inches one way by 4 feet 1½ inches the other: these dimensions correspond exactly with the proportions of the cornices and lintels of the temple and, upon calculation, I found that, resting on a gradient of overlapping slabs, this tablet formed the ceiling to the upper chamber, which is at present roofless and exhibits its bare lintels resting upon the columns.

I next unearthed three stone umbrellas; which evidently formed the final, or pinnacles, of this edifice. As shown in my

Pinnacles, &c.

restoration, see Plate, the lowermost, or largest, of these measures 3 feet 9 inches in diameter and 10 inches deep; the second, 2 feet 7 inches in diameter and 7 inches deep, and in like manner the smallest is 1 foot 5 inches and 5 inches.

No. 2 temple of this series is a high brick structure

Second, or stûpa-like, temple: dimensions, &c.

bearing a peculiar resembance, when viewed at a distance, to a *Bûddhistic stûpa*: as the tall cupola crowning it is covered with long *kûsa* grass and *jangal.*

The total height of this temple from its floor to summit is 41 feet 10 inches, of which the lower chamber is 27 feet 10 inches, the remaining 14 feet being absorbed in the upper octagonal chamber and semi-circular dome. The lower body of the building is a quadrangle of 84 feet in circuit, each wall being 21 feet, but this only affords an interior space 13 feet 5 inches square, as the walls are 3 feet 9½ inches

in thickness: this chamber is gracefully vaulted. The circumference of the intermediate member, which is octagonal in form, is 70 feet 8 inches, which allows 8 feet 10 inches for each face, that of the final dome being 51 feet; the walls up here are thinner, being only 2 feet 5 inches.

This temple is said to have been built by a Baghel *Thakur* of *Jhûtia*, a village situated 8 miles east of *Bhírpûr*, and called *Bhotea* in map 88 of Indian Atlas. The temple contains an image of *Chatur-bhûj Rai*, or "the four-armed deity," standing upon a pedestal *âsan* 2 feet 8 inches above the floor of the temple. The statue is 4 feet 11 inches high by 2 feet 8 inches broad, and stands altogether, with pedestal, 7 feet 5 inches. There are ten small recesses inside the temple, apparently meant for lights, and the entrances are two in number, the principal one being to the east, and another small door or postern to the north.

Image.

Projecting from the front or eastern aspect of this temple, there is a portico or outer hall supported upon thin stone pillars. This *verandah* extends the whole length of the building, *i.e.*, 21 feet, and, in common with the temple to which it belongs, stands upon an ancient mound of solid brick-work, generally about 10 feet above the level of the surrounding country, and measuring 100 feet from east to west and 70 feet from north to south. I traced the foundations of numerous former temples (?) amongst these ruins, also a long straight wall running almost parallel with the present temple. This course of brick-work is visible for 87 feet, and has a general thickness of 4 feet. From superficial excavations in this mound, some bricks measuring 14 inches by 10 inches by 2¾ inches were found, and numbers 11 inches by 7 inches by 2 inches. This, together with many other early mounds in the neighbourhood, at once fixes this as a site that must have been occupied at an early date.

Remains.

The remaining signs of antiquity in the vicinity of *Bhirpûr* consist of an ancient fort (*kot*) to the west of the village; this measures

Ancient stone fort.

110 feet 6 inches long from north to south, and 76 feet 6 inches broad east and west, and is surrounded by a stone wall (only traceable in a few places) 3 feet 11 inches wide. The general height of this mound, of which a portion is under cultivation, is about 7 or 8 feet above the fields, and various other patches of pottery-strewn high ground. But nowhere are these remains so distinctly traceable as they are around temple No. 2 of my list and already described.

Temple of *Bára-bhúji Devi*, dimensions, &c.

The 3rd temple here is considerably smaller and more modern than either of those above named, and is called *Bára-bhúji Devi*, or "the twelve-armed goddess," from a very curious semi-nude, twelve-armed female figure, mounted on a sphinx-like animal with human head, and surrounded by numerous celestial musicians, which is now enshrined in this temple. This statue is 3 feet 1 inch high, or, with its pedestal, 4 feet, being 2 feet broad, and has eight lamp-niches on either side of its shrine.

The temple of *Bára-bhúji Devi* is an almost cubic structure 18 feet 3 inches square, having a *verandah* in front (east) and surmounted by a modern dome which springs from an octagonal base. The building is wholly of brick, and having been repeatedly whitewashed, most of the carvings with which it was once scantily embellished have been obliterated.

The 4th temple of this group is a small insignificant building to the east, which must be very modern, as it is built of a miscellaneous collection of materials obviously picked up from the remains of the earlier temples, such materials abounding here.

Byragi's temple.

Of this temple, suffice it to say that it is the same previously mentioned as being built by a *Byrági*, or religious mendicant, and containing the ancient sculpture of *Mahá-víra*, which, as I have already shown, belongs to the mediæval rock temple to which, in all probability, the adjacent village of *Bhírpúr* owes its name.

This temple is numerously attended on the occasion of

Annual *méla.*

the annual fair held at *Bhírpúr* on the 9th of the light fortnight in the month of March, or *miti chắit súdi nodmi.*

21.—RÛPÂOLI-TOLA.

Vaishnav remains at *Rúpáoli-Tola.*

Close to the southern bank of the *Tons* River, and about midway between *Simária* and *Deo-Maho*, I found an old stone temple surrounded by a great number of sculptures and potsherds. Inside the temple is enshrined a very fine statue of *Vishnú*, 6½ feet high, with a boldly pierced halo behind head, supported upon small ornamental pilasters. Several complete pillars lay about the mound which surrounds and underlies this temple, and which is, in all probability, the representative of a still earlier shrine.

22.—REWA.

(*See Plate XIX.*)

The city of Rewa is situated just 110 miles to the west of south from Allahabad, by the nearest route, and 33 miles east of *Satna* by the high road.

Of the *Baghels* of *Baghelkhand* little is known beyond the fact that they are the present representatives of the ancient *Bárhs* or *Bhárs*, whom they succeed. The present race of *Baghels* appear to be a cleanly and industrious people.

The Máháraja's palace.

Of the Hindu city of Rewa[1] the most picturesque portion, to my mind, is the *chowk*,[1] or city proper, facing which is the *Mahárájá's* palace, a long and spacious mansion constructed in the most approved modern style of Hindu architecture.

[1] Or *Rewán*. The name is universally pronounced by the people *with* the nasal, and is written in both characters of the vernacular distinctly *Rewán*. In common with the transliteration of many other names, we wrongly omit the *n* here and even add in its stead *h* !

For the rest, the outskirts are somewhat barren in appearance, though excellent roads exist to such principal resorts as the *Lakshmi Bâgh, Gobindgarh, Râipûr;* &c.; and the highway leading to Satna on the west is a most commendable piece of road-making.

Roads.

Directly in front of the Mahârâja's palace and forming the entrance to the *Chowk*, stands a gateway or triumphal arch of red sandstone, exquisitely adorned in every part with rich carvings. At the close of the year 1881, General Cunningham was of opinion that the gateway must have been brought to Rewa from the adjacent village of *Gûrgi*, where there are many very extensive remains, and during my visit to *Gûrgi-Mâsan*, I found the actual spot whence it was exhumed in the ruined Palace of *Karan-Dahâria*. Of these extensive ruins, details will be found in the account of *Gûrgi-Mâsan* which follows. I only mention this incident to account for the origin of this remarkable sculpture which I will now endeavour to describe. From its foot to acmê this gateway measures just 25 feet, and from the extreme outside edges of its supporting columns, is 18 feet 3 inches wide; but when we deduct the diameter of these columns (3 feet $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches) from this width, the space betwixt pillars is only 11 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches—that is, 11 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches + 3 feet $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches + 3 feet $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches = 18 feet 3 inches. The supports are 22 feet 2 inches high, but the columns reach *above* the lower part, or beginning, of the lintel, which is 17 feet 2 inches above the road-level, though they fall 2 feet 10 inches short of the apex. The carved lintel is 7 feet 10 inches deep, 2 feet 7 inches thick, and would run the whole way across were its ends not fractured. As it is, it extends to the outer limits of the supporting monoliths to within a few inches, where it terminates ruggedly.

Original sculptured gateway in *chowk* of *Rewa*.

Descriptions, measurements, &c., of gateway.

When I visited Rewa this gateway was being set up, and my first view of it was through a wilderness of constructive scaffolding; and, as I wished to photograph the gateway, those beams that obstructed the view were caused to be tem-

porarily removed for me by the courtesy of the enlightened *Dewân* of *Rewa*, *Pandit Het Ram*; indeed, this minister afforded me much valuable assistance, and in countless ways facilitated my researches in the Rewa State.

The topmost reliefs of this unique gateway are suggestive of religious scenes in which the sacrificial bull, or buffaloe, is thrice boldly depicted—that near the centre kneeling, apparently, in readiness to be slain. The next lower member of this architrave is an *alto-relievo* pierced right through the stone wherever the sculptor has deemed it necessary to his design, which is an extremely vigorous one, having in the centre two rampant lions with human riders; these are flanked on either side by standing female figures with attendants in adoration. This section of the carvings is surmounted by a quadruple arch with three floral pendants which at once encloses the whole design and forms the body of two centaur-like objects, out of the mouths of which the mounted lions before mentioned are understood to have just issued. The whole idea is most originally conceived and executed, and this part of the gateway calls to mind the agreeable medley of objects employed in the designs of Renaissance Art. Lower down, the reliefs again assume a thoroughly oriental character, and this remarkable architrave finishes below with a running ornament of intertwined flower-garlands (*mála*) hanging from eight lions' heads.

The supporting columns exhibit, at their summit, most of the Brahmanical deities, *Ganesa* and *Párvati* being conspicuous: these are crowned by, and supported upon, half figures of *Cherubim* mostly delineated in the act of trumpeting, and in the line of ornament below will be seen[1] the best proportioned figure I could find on the gateway—I allude to the full-length, semi-nude female figure on the left pillar. The remaining lower portions of these pillars abound with figures, miniature pilasters, and much exquisite Brahmanical ornament, all contributing towards the gracefully proportioned profile or outline of these columns.

[1] For a picture of the Rewâri Gateway see Plate XIX.

It is to be regretted that the engineers who have set up this superb gateway so admirably should have concealed so much of its valuable carving. When I saw it, the construction of a most inappropriate pointed stone arch, with which they propose to obscure nearly half the upper carvings, was happily only begun. It, however, soon became but too apparent to me that, when completed, this new work would not only hide much of the old, but that the effect of the latter would be completely marred by this framework, which is totally unadapted in design to the early carvings. Something more plain and, as nearly as possible, angular in form—*quite square*, I would say, if the upper irregular corners permitted—would be infinitely better suited for an enclosure to this gateway, provided always that such an enclosure is necessary. Near the entrance to the gardens called *Lakshmi-Bâgh*, to south-west of city, there are five temples and one large stone tank. All these temples are now in daily use and in good preservation.

Temple of *Râm, Lakshman*, and *Jânki* at *Lakshmi-Bâg*.

The first of these is called "the temple of *Ram, Lakshman*, and *Janki*," and contains those idols which belong to the *Râma* incarnation. The second shrine is also called, after the deities

Temple of *Jaganâth, Balbhadar*, and *Sohodra*.

worshipped in it, *scil. Jaganâth, Balbhadra*, and *Sohodra* (*Bodh Avatar*).

Temple of *Krishna, Baldev* and *Radhika*.

Third *Krishna, Baldev* or *Balarâm*, and *Râdhika* (Krishna incarnation).

Temple of Râmânûja.

Fourth *Râmânûja*, called *Râmânûj savâmi*; but it is clear that this shrine is dedicated to *Râmânûja*, one of the four founders of the four principal sects of Vaishnavism, the remaining founders of the sects in this religion being *Madhva, Chaitanya*, and *Valabhar*.

Temple of Mahâvîra.

The 5th temple is a much smaller one, and merely contains a figure of *Mahâvîra*.

The first of these temples faces the north, and has an

Dimensions of first temple.

octagonal base measuring 225 feet in circuit, or 28 feet 1⅛ inches at each face. The upper portion of this structure is obeliskal, and rises to a total height of nearly 100 feet. The above

measurements include a porch, or *arddha-mandapa*, which abuts from the pagoda and leads to the *antarâla*, or sanctum sanctorum, into which the numerous Brâhmans in charge of these temples of course denied me admittance, but allowed my servants, one of whom was a Brâhman, free access.

The second temple in this garden is a quadrangular building, 99 feet 6 inches in circuit, each wall being 24 feet 10½ inches and 36 feet high, with a plain flat roof and remarkably massive walls, 3 feet 9 inches thick.

Dimensions of second temple.

The third is an unusually lofty, square-built structure 134 feet 4 inches in circuit at base, or 33 feet 7 inches on each aspect, with walls 3 feet 7 inches in thickness.

Dimensions of third temple.

The fourth *mandir* faces the west, and measures 137 feet 8 inches in girth, and, being of quadrangular form, this allows 34 feet 5 inches for each face. The only peculiarity about this building is its excessive height, being considerably over 100 feet, and the thickness of its walls 4 feet 7 inches.

Dimensions of fourth temple.

The small building near the great tank of Rewâṅ is now used more as a rest-house and shady resort for the pilgrims visiting these temples than as a place of worship, though, as before stated, it contains a figure of *Mahâvíra*. This building measures 18 feet from north to south and 10 feet east and west, and stands 12 feet high. All the above-described temples are built for the most part of squared stones.

Dimensions of Mahâvíra Temple.

Construction of temples.

The large square tank attracts a considerable number of pilgrims to its banks, and is a great feature of the *Lakshmi* gardens. This tank faces the cardinal points and measures 480 feet in circuit, being beautifully constructed of dressed materials, and approached by a regular flight of stone steps. In the *Lakshmi-bâgh* I was also shown the yet unfinished mausoleum of the late

Large stone tank.

Mausoleum.

Mahârâja, which is daily adorned with fresh flowers by the loyal Baghel pilgrims visiting the adjacent temples.

Ancient bâoli.

To the east of Rewâri there is a very old *bâoli*, or water reservoir, called *Râni-ka-bâoli*. It is now almost dry, and has a diameter of 14 feet 4 inches in the circular part, and a gradient of steps reaching from north to south for 98 feet, this portion being 27 feet 11 inches across from west to east. These steps reach to the water-level, which is 35 feet 10 inches below the ground level. There are two shady rest-houses, pleasantly situated close to the *bâoli* for travellers; also a few sculptures, one of which—a Vaishnav image—is rather large, being 5 feet 5 inches high.

The *bâoli* is one of the largest in *Rewân Khass,* but I am told that one still larger exists at *Râjgarh,* 32 miles distant from Alwâr. This reservoir, called *Lakshmi-bâoli,* is, I believe, still largely in use, and was built by a wealthy *bania* of *Alwâr.*

Old metal gun.

Near the encamping-ground at *Rewân,* there is a large metal gun which was presented by one of the Mahârâjas to a Brâhman, near whose dwelling it now lies. The gun measures 7 feet 7 inches long, and is 3 feet in diameter (outside), which, however, only allows an aperture of 8½ inches, and bears a short Hindi inscription engraved in the metal.

23.—NAPANIA.

Temple of Bâbâ Sitâ Râm at Nipania: dimension, &c.

Leaving Rewa on the east and crossing over to the western bank of the *Bichia* river (called by some *Patpar-nadi*), there are, near the village of *Nipania,* some idol temples. The largest, and indeed the only noteworthy, temple here is that of *Bâbâ Sitâ Râm,* a fine building with circular dome inside, and portico supported upon six stone columns on its eastern front. It is said to be 350 years old; but, while admitting that this age is quite possible for the building in question, I cannot help considering it somewhat exaggerated.

The base of this temple is an oblong of 26 feet from north to south, and 28 feet from east to west, the walls being 3 feet 10 inches thick. The *verandah* is 7 feet 3½ inches high, and at its east front measures 26 feet long, thus extending the full length of this façade, and projecting eastward for 10 feet 7 inches; the *verandah* rests along its east edge, upon six partially ornamented pillars of stone. The temple stands on an artificially made raised platform measuring 77 feet 7 inches east and west and 59 feet 2 inches north and south; this level platform is surrounded by a mud wall 2 feet 5 inches high.

There are some other minor shrines, mostly of mud, too modern and insignificant, however, to be noticed here.

From the stream dividing Nipania from Rewa, an excellent view of that city and fortifications can be had. Indeed this view is perhaps more comprehensive in its nature than any other here, the country lying on the outskirts being very bare, notably between Lakshman Bâgh and the city, where, with the exception of an occasional tomb or circular domed rest-house (*târam*), all is rugged waste.

Besides temples there are a few mosques in Rewa, religious toleration being most commendably observed in this state, and the melodious cry of the *Mozain* calling "the faithful" to prayer is heard to great advantage mingling with the clamorous temple bells in the still dawn.

The only remaining objects of archæological interest in Rewa Khâss of which I know, are a large gateway of stone at Bardi Khâss in Pargana Bodi, which is in contiguity with the Mirzapûr district, the great Bandogarh fort, some ruined temples with inscriptions south of the *Kaimur* Range, and the extensive remains at *Gûrgi Masân*. Accounts of the two latter sites are here subjoined.

24.—GÛRGI OR GURGI MASÂN.

(*See Plate XX.*)

The principal remains at *Gûrgi* or *Gûrgi Masân*, as this ancient site is always called, on account of its close proxi-

mity to *Masân*, a town a little to the west, where there is a bazâr, &c., the village of Gûrgi being merely an ordinary *tola* without even a single Bania's shop, are those of a once great-walled city. This vast mound is still surrounded in parts by its ancient stone wall, generally 10 feet thick, and in several places still 15 feet high.

Gûrgi Masân: remains of city.

These remains are situated to the north-east of the village of Gûrgi Masân, and measure, along their stone walls, on the southern side 3,475 feet, along the eastern wall 3,041 feet, the north wall 2,050 feet, and that to the west measures 3,700 feet.[1] As the western end of this mound possesses the greatest length of wall, *i.e.*, 3,700 feet, and that exactly opposite (on the east) is only 3,041 feet, it is difficult to name precisely the original dimensions of the named city. It will also be seen from the sketch-map[1] that an equally wide difference occurs on the north and south, where these ramps are 2,050 feet and 3,475 feet respectively. But by remeasuring *between* these walls through the centres of the mound (where two roads leading to the four traditional gates are said to have existed) I arrived at the conclusion that the original city was a quadrangle of quite 4,000 feet, if not more, either way; for, though the walls outside can be measured with precision, it is probable that other buildings stood between this and the mound described further on. Most of the chaotic ruins within this enclosure have distinct names and histories in the tradition of the people,—thus, the conspicuous mound towards the centre is called the *chowk*, or "metropolis," that near the eastern gate the *kotwâl*, "police station," and a little to the west of south from 'the *chowk*,' the squarish mound is called the *bara-howeli*, or "large house," directly to the west of which are a number of ruined stone temples and broken sculptures, obviously the remains of the former religious quarter of this city. There are, besides, four *bâolis*, one tank, and four gateways, and, inside

Dimensions of ancient city.

Integral remains of city.

[1] See sketch of these ruins, Plate XX.

the *chowk* (where I managed to penetrate from the south-west corner with great difficulty, though the *jangal* is much thinner here than elsewhere), a somewhat raised spot was pointed out where a very large pillar once stood. Of this pillar it is related that many years ago a party of men were digging at its base for dressed stone, and on its foundation being thereby disturbed, the pillar fell and killed one of the labourers, being itself shattered to pieces by the fall. No traces of any such monolith exist now, but the pieces are said to have been removed long since as materials for other constructive works.

These ruins are bounded on the north by the village of Bhitipûr, which lies about half a mile distant, and on the south the village of Bara, or *Varâhar*, is about the same distance from this wall. Halwa is a village situated about 1 mile from the eastern wall, and that of Silhat almost adjoins the west side of these remains.

Colossus of Gûrgi Masân.

A little to the west of the fort above described is a colossal figure in blue-stone of *Mahâbhir*, or *Mahavira*,[1] 9 feet 4 inches long, of which the chest measures 5 feet 7 inches in circumference, that of the head being 4 feet 6½ inches. According to the tradition of the place, this statue is supposed to represent an *ahír* who, on the occasion of the adjacent citadel being invaded by some foreign *Râjâ*, raised his hand and called to his cow (of which a life-sized statue still exists about 3 miles distant), which, along with its master, was instantly petrified. The figure has its right hand upraised and mouth distended. Hard by there is another large stone, 4 feet 1 inch long by 2 feet 11 inches broad, upon which twenty-five idols are represented; there are in all ten broken sculptures on this spot, but near the village of *Silhat* there is another carving, 2 feet 9 inches high by 3 feet wide, exhibiting nine

Miscellaneous sculptures.

[1] I found a similar figure called Jogibhir amongst the statues at *Khûkûndo*, Gorakhpur, on the occasion of my visit to that interesting Brâhmanical site last season, 1880-81.

similar figures which pertain to the worship of the gods, also some other fragments.

To the west of the village of *Barâh* is the tank called by the villagers *Bhara-pokhra*, or "the full tank," but this is evidently a popular corruption of *Varâha*, the boar, or third incarnation of *Vishnû*. On the eastern bank of this tank, and over-shadowed by a fine *pipal*, is a tall temple devoted to the worship of *Mahâdev*, and a number of sculptures. This is not, however, the original temple belonging to this tank, as, by the name of the adjacent village, and indeed that of the tank itself, though now in a corrupted form, I take the original temple to have been *Vaishnavic*, containing, probably, a statue of the *Varâha-Avatâr*, some fragments of which I found on the opposite bank.

Ancient tank and temple, &c.

To the east of the village of *Gûrgi Masân* is a ruined fort called by the people *Râjâ Kârûn Daharia-ka-kila*. These are the ruins of a huge palace belonging, probably, to the same period as the great city and fort remains already described: indeed, local tradition has it that the city, fort, and palace belong to the time when *Kârûn*, or *Qârun*,[1] ruled this part of the country. It was from these remains that the gateway now at Rewa was exhumed, and this gate most probably formed one of the principal entrances to the ancient palace which, judging from the wilderness of sculpture one meets with in every part of its remains, must have been almost, if not quite, as richly decorated on every side by carvings as that gateway itself.

Ruined palace of Râjâ Kârûn Daharia.

Sculptures on palace ruins.

The best of these sculptures are as follows:—

1. A colossal group, 13 feet 1 inch high, representing *Siva* and *Pârvatî*;

[1] Kârûn, or Qârûn (the Korah of the Bible), is reputed by Orientals to have been the first cousin and brother-in-law of Moses, whose sister he married. Moses taught him alchemy, whereby he acquired vast wealth; but being called upon by Moses to devote a fortieth part of his wealth to religious purposes, he refused, and endeavoured to suborn false evidence against Moses, who therefore caused him to be swallowed up by the earth.

2. A colossal four-armed figure, 9 feet 5 inches high, by 4 feet 10 inches broad, of *Devi-Madodari*, the wife of *Râvan* of Lankâ;
3. Life-size figure of crouching lion;

and innumerable other figures and architectural sculptures, amongst which are some excellent statues of seated bulls (*nandi*). It is just possible that the last-named lion's statue crowned one of the gates of this palace, as that now in the city of Rewa struck me as standing in need of some such ornament for a final, in which case there would, of course, be *two* lions flanking some other figure, *e.g.*, that of an elephant, praying-wheel, &c.

Muhammadan shrines.

On the south-west corner of this mound there stands a small Muhammadan mosque, or shrine, in which a *Pír*, called *Ghâzi-Mír*, is buried, but, as the saints *Ghâzi-Mír* and *Mír-Bâdshâh* are worshipped by Hindûs and Musalmâns alike, Hindûs are occasionally seen tending this good *Mír's* tomb.

A conical hill, further to the south-west, still exhibits traces of a level flooring on its summit, from which a fine view can be had of the neighbouring country. This is said to have been a promenade for the former rulers of the place.

The antiquity of Gûrgi Masân is proved beyond all doubt by the perfect wilderness of ruins that confronts one here on every side. It is, further, more than probable that these remains mark the site of the ancient capital of this part of Central India.

Antiquity of *Gûrgi Masân*.

Stories of Kârûn and his wealth universally abound in the neighbourhood, and, though I have given the generally accepted Muhammadan version of Kârûn, I do not hesitate to confess that the Kârûn here indicated may, if not altogether a legendary fable, be quite another personage, as he is called *Râjâ Kârûn*, and would therefore belong to the Hindû period. Another characteristically vague tale, which seeks to suggest the immense population of *Râjâ Kârûn's* capital, has taken a firm hold of the Baghel mind. The fable relates that in former times a camel, heavily laden with *sindû*, a preparation of a vermil-

lion hue, entered the gate of Râjâ Kârûn's city, when every woman here, being seized with a desire to mark her forehead with the *sindû tilak*, the whole camel-load of red powder was completely exhausted on each woman dipping her small-finger into it and abstracting only so much as adhered to the fingers. The Mahâjan who owned the *sindû* complained to the king, who ordered that each woman who had partaken of this colour should pay one *kauri*[1] into the *Taksil*, and that these payments formed a whole year's revenue.

Legendary.

25.—CHANDARA.

Chandara : its temple.

Two miles to the south of Râmpûr, or 11 miles south of the *Kâimûr* Range, is situated the little village of *Chandara*, to the south of which village stands a temple dedicated to *Mahâdeo*. This *mandir* is entered from the west, and measures from north to south 31 feet, and from east to west 50 feet, or 170 feet 6 inches in circumference. It is surrounded by a platform raised to 6 feet 2 inches from the ground, but this elevation appears to have been deducted from the height of its doors, which are only 4 feet high; thus, the floor of this temple is considerably below its threshold, and after ascending the few steps, those desirous of entering descend again to the floor level of the temple, above which the ceiling rises for 17 feet, but its outside total height is about 70 feet, the base of the upper portion, or steeple, being 79 feet in circumference.

Dimensions of temple.

The shrine of Mahâdeo is placed in the centre of the temple, and stands 2 feet 3 inches above its floor, being 11 feet in circumference. A shady porch, supported upon six plain columns to the west or front, completes the design of the Chandara temple. But the most remarkable object at Chandara is the *garhi*, or cave, which is now in ruins and bears every

Chandara cave.

[1] 80 kauris = ¼ ana.

appearance of being very old. The plan of this building is a square, each wall being 77 feet 7 inches, which gives a circuit of 310 feet 4 inches. As it is much fallen, it is not easy to get the exact height of this edifice, but the highest existing portion is to be found on the western aspect, where it is 20 feet. The entrance is to the north, on either side of which there is a long inscription. Immediately upon entering here, you descend for about 6 feet, after which the cave is approached. Regarding this cave the villagers entertain most extravagant notions, and state that this building, together with the adjacent temple, was built by a certain *mahant* who habitually passed through this cave on his way to bathe in the river (Son-bhadra). Now, as the nearest point of this river is nearly 3 miles distant from the *garhi*, they plainly assign a length of 2½ or 3 miles to the subterraneous passage which leads from this building. The zamindârs of the village have now obstructed its passage, on account (they affirm) of a man having been killed in trying to penetrate to the limit of this cave.

Dimensions of cave.

To the west of Chandara lies the village of *Gojarâha*: to the east it is bounded by hills, *Khyraganj* lies to the south, and the Great *Kymûr* chain of mountains on the north.

The Chandara inscriptions were first discovered by Mr. J. D. Beglar.

See Archæological Survey, Vol. XIII, p. 6, and Plates I and II.

26.—EXPLORATIONS IN GANDHARA.

At the close of the year 1881 the Panjâb Government decided on making some new explorations in the Yûsufzai country, by means of a company of Sappers and Miners, commanded by an officer of Engineers to conduct the excavations, &c.; and as it was found necessary that some one from the Department of the Archæological Survey should be on the spot to report on the progress of this undertaking, and also to prepare drawings and photographs of any discoveries, &c., that might be made, I was directed to hold myself in

readiness to be present at the Trans-Indus explorations, and, in compliance with the instructions of the Director General of the Archæological Survey (which I here append, as they afford a very clear idea of the nature of the work and style of archæological relics to be expected in Afghanistan), I proceeded, after drawing to a close my Central India and Bihâr work, to Peshâwar, whence, as will be seen further on, I traversed the whole, and explored most, of the country lying to the north and east, and comprising the Peshâwar district and Yûsufzai; moreover, I found it necessary to cross the British frontiers to north and east respectively, and may here add that on both occasions I received every assistance and facility for pursuing my researches, alike from the district authorities and independent Chiefs.

"*Memorandum for Peshâwar Explorations.*"

"The most promising sites for exploration in the Peshâwar district, so far as my information goes, are the following:—

"1.—*Chârsada*—a large ruined fortress, now forming a high mound in the delta of the Swât River, to the west of Chârsada. There is no doubt that this was the ancient capital of the country in the time of Alexander the Great; the historians of his campaign call it Peukelaotis, which is a close rendering of the Pâli Pukkalaoti, the spoken form of the Sanskrit *Pushkalâvati.* I mention this name because it is just possible that some trace of it may yet remain amongst the people of Chârsada and the neighbourhood.

"In exploring this site some excavation should be made to find the remains of the city walls, and, if possible, to trace the lines of the walls all round, and to fix the position of the gates. As Peukelaotis was the capital of a Râjâ, it is possible that some traces of a royal palace may still exist, as well as some remains of temples and other large buildings. The height and size of the mound should, of course, be ascertained.

"During the course of excavation many small objects will most probably be found, such as pottery, arms, coins, armaments, &c.,—all of these should be preserved. The coins are more especially valuable, as they will generally give an approximate date for the building in which they may be found. . . . .
. . . . Wherever walls are found their extent should be traced, and, when possible, plans should be made, and a note

taken of the style of building, whether of cut stone or of continuous rubble stone, or of rubble stone and thin slabs in alternate layers. All the sculptures that are worth preserving should be marked at once by mason's chisel with an initial letter of the place where they were found. Thus *P* might be cut on the *side*, or *top*, or back of all sculptures found at Peukelaotis. At my suggestion the Jumâlgarhi sculptures were all marked with the letter *J* by Lieutenant Crompton; and these are now almost the only Indo-Scythian sculptures of which the findspot is absolutely known.

"2.—To the west of Peshâwar there are two ancient sites named Takkâl—one is called *Takkâl Bâla* and the other *Takkâl Payin*. In one of these Dr. Bellew made some valuable discoveries. I have a suspicion also that some Sappers were once employed at one or both of these places. This might, perhaps, be ascertained by reference to Mr. Beckett, the Deputy Commissioner of Peshâwar, who is, I believe, fully conversant with all that has been done in archæological explorations in the Peshâwar district.

"3.—Jamâlgarhi hill might be examined, as I believe that a portion was left unexplored by Lieutenant Crompton, at the setting-in of the hot weather.

"4.—Bakshâla, to the north of Shâhbâz-garhi, is also an ancient site which should be examined.

"5.—The Kâramâr hill, to the east of Shâhbâz-garhi, possesses many ruins. I have not seen these myself, but the hill was traversed by Mr. Pearson, of the Education Department, who recognised the traces of ancient buildings and sculpture.

"6.—The old fort of Rânigat, just above the village of Nogrâm, and to the east of the Kâramâr hill, is a place worthy of special examination. I have seen this place myself, and it is the only ancient site to the west of the Indus, so far as I know, that possesses any building of cut stone. But it is just beyond the British border, and I do not think that the Sappers could be employed there. The Kodo Kheyl Maliks are, however, friendly, and I have no doubt that they would be glad to furnish *workpeople of their own*, who would, of course, be paid by the officer superintending the work. There would, thus, be a mutual benefit for both parties.

"7.—Panjpir, a small hill still further to the east, might also be examined. Of course it is now occupied by a Muhammadan shrine. But, as this would almost certainly have been built of the ruins of some earlier Hindu buildings, something of value might perhaps be discovered there. Already the neighbourhood has yielded two valuable Indo-Scythian inscriptions.

"Whenever sculptures may be found, it will be necessary to make some arrangements for their safe custody, so as to prevent mutilation by the people.

"(Sd.) A. CUNNINGHAM, *Major-Genl.*,

"*Director General, Archæological Survey.*

In accordance with the above memorandum I examined all the sites mentioned therein, and many others besides more or less of interest, of which I heard locally. It must be regretted, however, that the first exploring party (4th Company of Bengal Sappers and Miners conducted by Lieutenant Martin, R.E.) retired somewhat precipitately from *Hashtnagr* (Chârsada), where, upon subsequent examination of the existing structural and other remains, I concluded that work had been barely commenced. Chiefly on this account I was obliged to continue my work alone, and, though I employed independent labour for purposes of excavation whereever necessary, I cannot help thinking that much more good work would have been done had the powerful assistance of a Sapper Company with their implements (the latter item in itself worthy of consideration in these wild regions) been available. This, no doubt, was originally intended.

At a somewhat late season, and almost at the proverbial "eleventh hour," a second party (10th Company of Sappers and Miners commanded by Lieutenant Maxwell, R.E.) was organized, and marched through *Shâhbâzgarhi* on the 29th of March 1882, when that officer called on me, informing me of his projects and soliciting information which, in compliance with instructions I had previously received from the office of the Commissioner and Superintendent of Peshâwar to give any information and guidance that lay in my power, I furnished him with. Much hard work was done by the Sappers at an obscure place called *Kotki*, situated on one of the spurs of the Kâramâr range of mountains; but, with the exception of the exhumation of a few temples, no result was obtained. Indeed, this might have been expected from a place showing no promise, wholly uninteresting, and obviously one of the last

places of the description abounding here that would justify such apparently extensive operations as were carried on at this *Kotki*. A short inscription was, however, found by Lieutenant Maxwell in the neighbourhood of, though at some distance from, this place; and as inscribed data of any sort are the most useful and reliable, it is noteworthy that during my somewhat rapid trip in Afghanistan, I discovered three inscriptions on stone,—this, however, includes one but a few miles east of Attock, but nevertheless in Hindûstân.

My experience induces me to think that a stringent search in the countless graveyards and ziârats in the Yûsufzai country would result in the acquisition of many valuable inscriptions, which principally serve at present for monuments, owing to the surprising ignorance of the peasantry, many of whom cannot distinguish the Devi-nâgari characters that generally record Sanskrit data from the Perso-Arabic of the Moslems. One of the inscriptions above mentioned I discovered on the grave of a rustic martyr, and secured the gratitude of the peasantry by removing the objectionable *Kafir* obelisk from their hallowed cemetery. This inscribed obelisk was nevertheless, before I undeceived them, considered to be quite an orthodox record of the faith of Islâm.

By dint of constant enquiries (in which I was assisted in no small degree by certain enlightened Khâns, Râis, &c.), I also heard of two other inscriptions, *i.e.*, (1) a rock inscription, said to be lengthy, in the village of *Ayasîre* (Bajor) and about 40 miles to the north of our frontier in the Swât direction; (2) an inscription, also engraved upon rock, near the village of *Alahdand* and north of the *Mûrabanda* pass (Swât). This was described to me as being engraved upon a rock about 15 feet long by 12 feet high, and representing in outline various symbols, such as articles of jewellery, *e.g.*, women's bracelets, necklaces, &c., also divers curious animals. Each of the diagrams are, I believe, supplemented by short inscriptions above and below each; so that I might reckon the inscriptions discovered west of the Indus as five, instead of three (excluding that of Rûhmia), while I obtained possession of four; of the two last I got nothing beyond the

knowledge of their exact situation, but before leaving the Peshâwar district, I duly arranged for impressions with an intelligent Mûllah named Habib *Khân*, who is, I believe, known and tolerated in independent territory, and was quite willing to start with a few others on the mission, should it be thought desirable hereafter to have records of these two inscriptions.

Since the above was written, I learn that at least one of these latter inscriptions was discovered and *published* by General Cunningham, so it is fortunate that I did not take any precipitate steps for their acquisition.

CHÂRSADA (HASHTNAGR).

Chârsada, Hashtnagr: derivations of names.

The term *Hashtnâgr,* "eight villages," or more correctly "eight towns," as the Persian *dih* properly means village (the same distinction is also carefully observed in Hindi, *viz.*, *pûra*, "township" or "city," and *gâmv* or *gânv*, "a village"), is oftener called *Hashttapa*, *tapa* meaning the palm of the hand to which each *nagr* is likened : their adjoining or dependent *dihs*, of which more hereafter, representing the fingers of the "hand," are called simply *shâkh*, or "branches."

27.—CHÂRSADA.

Situation of *tapas*.

The most southerly of these towns, *Prâng* and *Chârsada,* are situated but two marches north-east of Peshâwar, whence, lining the eastern bank of the *Jindi* river, they stretch northwards for about 15 miles. The dependent villages before mentioned follow a similar direction on the western bank of the river, and those belonging to each town, *nagr* or *tapa*, stand, as nearly as possible opposite their governing towns.

Counting from the south, these towns and their subservient branches, called collectively *Hashtnagr*, are dis-

tributed over the country between Peshâwar and the northern frontier, as follows :—

Townships.

i.—Prâng.	v.—Tarungzai.
ii.—Chârsada.	vi.—Umrzai.
iii.—Rujur (Rajal).[1]	vii.—Sherepao.
iv.—Utmânzai.	viii.—Tangi.[2]

Shâkh or Branches of Prâng.

i.—Mîr Prâng.	vii.—Mendwân.
ii.—Agra.	viii.—Sabuki.
iii.—Sadû Khel.	ix.—Barekh.
iv.—Saokhel.	x.—Wadsra.
v.—Bâsazai.	xi.—Wasriwazdâd.
vi.—Shēkh Kalî.	xii.—Dogarh.

Those of Chârsada.

i.—Jatlithâbu.	v.—Thowaliada.
ii.—Jamabalbhâr.	vi.—Wargai.
iii.—Hasliman Khari.	vii.—Nodîh.
iv.—Cheta.	viii.—Nestah.

Those of Rajar.

i.—Wardgi.	ii.—Aba Bakri.

Those of Utmânzai.

i.—Jakaotân.	v.—Khânviûmri.
ii.—Naruâb.	vi.—Mâlmâlah.
iii.—Amîrabâd.	vii.—Ababakri.
iv.—Mahamad Nawai.	

Those of Thârangzai.

i.—Aspâlmi.	iv.—Wargaifezula.
ii.—Gango.	v.—Dâba.
iii.—Wargai-Ghulam Kadîr.	

Those of Umarzai.

i.—'Umrabâd.	vi.—Sagi.
ii.—'Umrzai.	vii.—Chiniân.
iii.—Makâmîr Khân.	viii.—Kâradanda.
iv.—Sanzar.	ix.—Dowlat.
v.—Mîrzadhir.	x.—Makgâyafîl.

[1] Is probably correct form, signifying "man."

[2] Derived from *tang*, "distress," owing to the frequent raids formerly made upon this village by the warlike tribes inhabiting the Momand country.

Those of Sherapao.

i.—K'ala-i-Sherapao.	iii.—Totki.
ii.—Daki.	iv.—Gamti.

Those of Tangi.

i.—Tangi Nafirzai.	xi.—Harkand.
ii.—Barazai.	xii.—Gandara.
iii.—Baharâm-damri.	xiii.—Hissâra.
iv.—Jaglondi.	xiv.—Garhi Mian.
v.—Garhi Bahâr.	xv.—'Akosozai Saheb.
vi.—Pâla-i-Barazai.	xvi.—Sorsag.
vii.—Mali Nafirzai.	xvii.—Abazai.
viii.—Dobanda.	xviii.—Jarah.
ix.—Madaband.	xix.—Umrak'alh.
x.—Dangk'alh.	

Rivers of *Hashtnagar*.

Hashtnagar is watered by a river at present called Jindi, which flows from *Yâghistan*, or independent territory, and is a continuation of the *Panjkora* of Swât, which, after dividing itself into several channels called *Jagîla*, *Shâhmanbûr*, *Khabâti*, *Shakrloch*, *Hatêtabâla*, and *Jindi* respectively, forms a confluence, and joining the *Nâgûmân* branch of the *Kabûl* river, flows into the *Lundi* river, which feeds the great Indus a little above Attok. "*Jindi*," however, I found to be merely a modern name for the river which belongs more particularly to that part of *Hashtnagar* which forms the subject of this account, *i.e.*, *Chârsada*, the ancient *Peukalaotis*. This large river flows by the foot of the great ruined mound called *Bâla Hissâr*, or "High Citadel," and, being a prominent feature of this ancient site, I made minute enquiries about its earlier *Hindû* name. Though absolutely nothing is mentioned of another name besides *Jindi* in the official records, it would appear, from the statements of the older Hindû inhabitants of this neighbourhood, that, so late as the commencement of the present century, this river was universally known by the common Hindû name of *Son-Bhaar*, or, as they wrongly call it, *Son-Bhadrat*. We may consider this name, now almost forgotten, as one of the *very last* traces of Hindûism still feebly

clinging to Chârsada. [I take Sonbhadrat to represent the old name of *Subhavaotu*, in which the *t* at the end is still preserved.—A.C.]

Legendary history of the *Bâla Hissâr.*

Before proceeding to describe the ruined fortress of *Bâla-Hissâr*, a brief sketch of the popular accounts extant regarding its chequered history in late years may not be out of place; more especially as I was fortunate enough to meet an old *Kakazai*, said to be 120 years of age. This man served in many of the feuds between the latter *sirdars* and Sikh forces at the end of last and commencement of the present century, and positively affirms that, though the *Bâla Hissâr* was even then in ruins, many temporary buildings on the mound were inhabited. On account of his age and remarkably retentive memory, this old man is much respected and kindly treated by the more influential families of this neighbourhood, who are naturally very hospitably inclined.

Nothing is known in the tradition of the people concerning the *Bâla-Hissâr* prior to the early days of *Gori* rule in India, when, it is said, a sirdâr of the *Ali Khel* Afghans took this fort from *'Abdâl* called also "the Kafir,"[1] or "Kât" king.

A succession of Mûrghai Chiefs then followed, and it is believed that the royal offices then stood in this fort, part of which was in serviceable repair; the names of many intervening kings are also remembered, and these terminate with *Ahmad Shâh* and the Dûrâni epoch, after which my informants' account becomes much more circumstantial. In the struggle between the later *Dûrânis* and *Sikhs*, this fort is said to have been utilised and, from its height and commanding position, to have offered a brave resistance, though almost in ruins. The king *Tembar* figures conspicuously in all these by virtue of his generosity. He is said to have kept a standing army of only 600 horsemen, rewarding those

[1] It may seem unaccountable that one bearing a Mussalmân name should be counted "an infidel," but many such cases exist, *e.g.*, *Shâhbâz—Kalandar* was called by the Emperor Babir "Unbeliever"—*vide* Archæological Report, p. 9, Vol. V.

who volunteered to serve him by grants of land, elephants, &c. One of the last *Dûrâni* chiefs—*Tembar*—is well remembered by my informant to have presented two elephants to a *Feztâlab-Khân*, then *Khân* of the Ali Khel. He also described the Darbârs held at *Chârsada* of *Sayad* and the *Sikh Yâdû Singh*, commonly called here *Yadû Khân*. The latter temporary buildings on the *Bâla Hissâr* are said to have been built of wood, which was carried to Peshâwar shortly before the British annexation.

The money coined within the last 200 years bore the names of *Zamân Shâh*, *Muhammad Shâh*, *Ayûb Shâh*, and sometimes *Wazîr Ali Khân*. The coins belonging to the short-lived *Sikh* rule were generally called *Nand-râmi*, *Sitarâmi*, and *Sikha* rupees. Until a very late date the money of Kabûl was current all over this country.

My informant also remembers the time when, under native rule, a yearly tax was imposed of 3 *mâns* of wheat and 1½ *mâns*, of corn per man, upon agriculturists and from non-agriculturists and traders, such as Hindûs, &c., a money tax, equal to about 5 rupees, was levied.

Remains.

The principal remains in this neighbourhood are those of an early fortress called *Bâla Hissâr*, or "the great (or high) fortress;" though the ruined city of *Nâparsân*, or *Shhar-i Nâparsân*, is a site no less promising for discoveries, and if judiciously excavated would, in all likelihood, prove of quite as much interest as the better known *Bâla-Hissâr*. Of *Shhar-i-Nâparsân* a description, &c., will be found further on, together with an account of the results attending my excavations there.

Description of *Bâla Hissâr*.

Situated in a delta of the *Jindi* river, before noticed, at rather less than 3 miles to the west of the present town of Chârsada, the *Bâla Hissâr* occupies a most commanding position, and forms a conspicuous object for miles around. At present this fortress from almost every aspect presents the appearance of a rugged earthen barrow, for, with the exception of a small portion facing the west, all the stone-work

of the outer walls has fallen away, thus leaving the ramparts, even in those few places where they *are* higher than the generality of the mound, mere bastions of earth. Apparently it is only on the *outside* that these walls have been faced, the material employed for this purpose being large undressed stones—in many instances conglomerate.

As slight excavations had been made here by the 4th Company of Bengal Sappers and Miners a few days before my arrival at *Chârsada*, I confined myself to the preparation of careful plans of the *Bâla Hissâr* and its environment, which I will now endeavour to describe.

Dimensions of *Bâla Hissâr*.

Two hundred and forty feet from north to south and 659 feet from east to west, the main block of these ruins presents a top area of about 157,350 superficial feet, but to this breadth we must add the length of another mound, 550 feet long, contiguous to, and forming the southern flank of, the principal *Hissâr*, thus carrying out the line of battlements running from north to south (this side converges slightly towards the west at its southern end, but this irregularity may be accounted for by the constant shifting of the *Jindi*, which is said to have formerly bent in this direction) to 790 feet, and giving a length of 550 feet to the eastern face *of this wing*, which is 2[illegible]0 feet across from east to west, and extends nearly half-way in this direction across the main building. Hence the general form of the entire mound may be described as an irregular triangle with a superficial area at top of about 485,000 superficial feet.

Situation of gates in *Bâla Hissâr*.

The situation of the original gates of this fortress is, to my mind, a matter of the first importance. If anything further is to be done in the identification of *Chârsada* with the ancient Peukelaotis[1] than this identification, nothing clearer or more satisfying can be imagined, as further research only goes to confirm it. When Hwen Thsang, the observant Chinese pilgrim who traversed this country in A.D. 635, and to whose

[1] One of the many topographical discoveries made by General Cunningham.

accurate diary antiquarian research owes so much, visited Peukelaotis, he noted the following structures :—

1 Stûpa to *east of* city,
1 Monastery and stûpa to north of city,
2 Stûpas at a short distance to the *east* of this monastery, said to have been built by *Indra* and *Brâhma*, and
1 Brâhmanical temple outside the *west* gate of city.

Now, it is almost certain that this pilgrim, in common with most eastern recorders, would fix his bearings with a due regard to the *city gates*, even in preference to a minute adherence to the cardinal points.[1] It will, therefore, be necessary, in order to follow the pilgrim's description, first to determine the position of these gates, and, though there are many openings in the outworks of the *Bâla Hissâr*, and notwithstanding the confusing accounts with which my enquiries on this subject were repaid, I am confident that there ever were but three gates each sufficiently wide to allow a double file of elephants to pass. The first of these is placed just 200 feet from the western corner of the north face; there is no gate of any kind in the long southern wing, and, indeed, this portion of the out-works may, from their appearance, be an additional member of the building, constructed perhaps after the oblong fortress running from east to west. The second gate, clearly visible from the eastern parapet, is situated in the southern face, about 175 feet from the western corner of what we will call the "original" oblong fortress, so that there *is* a gate with a southern aspect, though very far away from the southern extremity of the *present* fort; and it will further be seen, on consulting the plan,[2] that the southern wing of the present triangular building actually has no gate of its own, being entered from the east and south-west original gates belonging to the

[1] *e.g.*, were the city built diagonally the north-north-east gate would be popularly known as the *north gate*, and so on. Of this habit amongst natives several practical instances have come under my notice.

[2] See Plate XXII.

northern section of the fort, which, I feel almost sure, may be assigned to an earlier period than the southern section.

The *Bála Hissár*: separate periods of its construction.

Another circumstance which induces me to form the above opinion is that none of the more ancient buildings on this mound are to be seen towards its south end, and indeed *all* objects of obvious antiquity may be included. In the north end were a straight line drawn across the mound, to the south of the principal structures near the centre popularly called "the Kafir Râja's Palace," "the Zenânas," "bath-houses," "treasury," &c., so as to include these buildings, we would have contained in the original *garh*—1st, the ancient buildings called by the people barracks to the north-east corner; 2nd, the large oval well, probably Buddhistic, and very old; 3rd, some ruined foundations of temples, and further to the south-west are: 4th, a number of disjointed buildings which may have been servants' or soldiers' quarters; the 5th, the *Râja's* palace, containing *hamâms*, *harams*, and a large hall, and towards the east, but still within the northern boundary above proposed; 6th, the treasury; 7th, barracks, and 8th stables. In further proof that the battlements south of this limit are of later date than those north, I will add that several portions (now much disjointed) of a rampart, without doubt the original southern boundary of this fort, still exists in precisely the direction indicated.

The south end of this hill may originally have supported out-houses, and even a small village, but that the extension of the *Bála Hissâr* to its extreme southern brow was subsequent to the erection of the fort itself, will become apparent to any one examining these remains with closeness.

The third and last gate is in the east and, at present, longest face of the fort, and about the same distance from the north-east bastion as the second gate from that of the south-west, hence about 180 feet.

It will be seen from the above that the southern end of the *Bala Hissâr* could only have been entered from the interior of this fortress, to which no entrance or exit was possible from the west; but, as this face is only 240 feet long, the three gates above named were probably deemed sufficient.

Before noticing the details of this important citadel, it may be well just to see, as far as we are able, how its gates bear on other remains in the neighbourhood. Regarding the "stûpa to east of city" mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim, though I could find no actual stûpa extant, there are several mounds within and without the remains of the city called *Ṣhhar-i-Nâparsân*, situated about 3½ miles east by north of *Bâla Hissâr*, and I would assign a place among these ruins for the original site of this stûpa. The remains at *Shhar-i-Nâparsân* are so vast that all that has as yet been done by way of explorations, including the trifling excavations commenced but to be abandoned by the Sappers, and my own excavations carried on under many difficulties, amongst which inefficient village labour and worthless implements may be counted, might justly be compared to the proverbial drop in the ocean; and a series of parallel trenches sunk here, especially towards the north-west corner, would most probably disclose much besides the foundation of this stûpa.

Bearing of citadel gates on surrounding remains.

Towards the north, and almost parallel with *Utmânzai*, I found a high-peaked mound which goes at present by the name of "the Gûmbaz," or cupola. Many miscellaneous ruins surround this tower, and, in all probability, represent the monastery that accompanied "the stûpa to north of city." It is a great pity that the Sappers and Miners, with their many resources and appliances at hand, did not, while they *were* in this country, make systematic exploration, and excavations where necessary, of the environment of the *Bâla Hissâr*.

Apparently the basement of the whole structure is of solid earth, though a great deal of dêbris has fallen from the heights, lending to the outer surface the appearance of a mass of rubbish and potsherds;—this is, however, only surface, as very superficial excavations suffice to show. The western aspect, which is best preserved, furnishes a fair example of the height to which this argillaceous foundation rises. Here the summit of the wall is generally 75 feet above the fields; towards this height the

Details of *Bâla Hissâr*.

earth-work before mentioned contributes 27 feet, the balance, or 48 feet, being faced on the outside with large stone boulders, of which quantities can be seen in the neighbourhood; these are interspersed with bricks, both burnt and *kacha*, the latter description greatly predominating throughout the building.

Construction.

The reason of thus alternating brick with stone is obviously to fill in the interspaces naturally left between the shapeless conglomerate stones. I confess that in this instance I wholly failed to see the "regular diaper pattern" this style of masonry is supposed to produce, and, on the contrary, consider it extremely rude and irregular in appearance, and its practical inferiority is amply evidenced by the present woeful condition of these remains, which will not bear comparison with several contemporary buildings. Further east and north (the remains of Sinâwar, for example) this ungainly masonry gives place to a style of work infinitely superior, in which no bricks at all are employed, and the interstices are packed by carefully prepared wedges of stone; but in these examples the principal blocks of stone are also partially squared.

Amongst the maze of ruined architecture crowning the Hissâr and long since razed to the ground (in no part are these integral ruins over 5 feet high), I was able to make out the foundation of a building—apparently, the remains of a large mansion, about 160 feet square, having an entrance to the north, standing at present about 5 feet above the general surface of the mound, and the average thickness of its walls being 2 feet 10 inches, evidently the principal building in the citadel; this structure is by the majority believed to have been "the *Kafir Râjâ's* palace" in early times, and at a later period the abode of a succession of powerful Sirdârs, indeed a very old man, of whom I have already made mention, affirmed that this building was inhabited within his memory. It transpired, however, that the late buildings to which he alluded were temporarily constructed of wood *on the site of* the ancient palace of the *Kafir Râjâs*.

Kafir Râjâ's palace.

Late wooden buildings on the Hissâr.

Next, in order of the remains on this mound, at present visible without an extensive course of excavation, is a large well situated to the north-east of the Hissâr. The diameter assigned to it by the people is 20 feet, but there is nothing by which to distinguish it from the surrounding dêbris, excepting a slight eminence—of mere earth—around the outside, and a scarcely perceptible depression in the centre. Moreover, the shape at present of this well is decidedly *oval*.

Bûddhistic (?) well.

There were twelve bastions, or towers, at the angles of this fortress, of which distinct traces exist. These towers are built of the rubble stone and brick-work before described For the position of the various other remains on this mound, the plan furnished in Plate XXI may be consulted with advantage.

Towers.

I could not find any trace of a ditch surrounding this edifice, and conclude that the Hissâr, when intact, must have been too lofty (hence its name *Bâla* or *Balând*) to stand in need of a moat, more especially during the primitive days of escalade to which it belongs.

Absence of moat or ditch.

In the flourishing town of Chârsada, there is a primary school which, I learn, was established by Government about sixteen years ago, and a large proportion of the sparse population of Hindûs here attend it, and amount to quite half the number of Muhammadan students, or one-third the total attendance. Amongst these Hindû scholars (about 30 in all) there were, at the time of my visit to Chârsada, a few Brâhmans, 7 Kshetris, and the remainder mostly composed of the shop-keeping classes of Bania and Mahâjan. The Muhammadans of various denominations are about 60 in all. It is surprising that, out of a total population of about 400 Hindûs at Chârsada, so large a percentage as 30 should be actually attending a popular school. The streets here are mostly covered in, to exclude the sun's rays. This struck me as an Arabic idea noticeable even at Jeddha.

Hindû population and public school of Chârsada.

Near the *chowk* are two religious establishments called *Thâkurdawâra* and *Dharamsâla* respectively.

Temples in bazâr, &c.

It is quite amusing to note the wide distinction observed here between the *Pathâns* and *Pûrâbias*, or "men of the east" as the Hindustânis are called, and after crossing the *Abasin* (a great voyage and a forbidden one for the Hindû section of them) the unfortunate *Masharakâns* are kept in a chronic state of alarm by the horrid, and doubtless grossly exaggerated, tales of enmity and bloodshed that the mischievous *Pathâns* love to tell.

Pathân idiosyncracies.

It is thoroughly believed by them that their precious country is under the special influence and protection of "the star of bloodshed," and almost every Afghan tells freely of having slaughtered at least one enemy in his time. Indeed, enmity and vengeance forms the constant theme of their conversation; and I heard, on good authority, that the commission of capital crime has always been distressingly prevalent west of the Indus. During my halt at Chârsada a man was carried away bodily from the *varândah* of his own dwelling, and in spite of close search by the police in and about the surrounding fosses and streams—to say nothing of wells and rivers—no trace of the unfortunate victim was discovered. Such abduction is, I believe, very common to this country, and on an average one or two men become *gûru* or *mafkûd*, "lost or missing," every year, this being an acknowledged and favourite method among *Pathâns* of ridding themselves of an enemy, who is quietly smuggled away, murdered, and hidden from view in one of the "crags, lochs, or glens" so abundantly furnished by these wild regions.

28.—SHAHAR-I-NÂPARSÂN.

(*See Plate XXII.*)

As the following legend is locally held to furnish the source whence these remains derive their name above given,[1] I am induced to

Legendary history of Shahar-i-Nâparsân.

[1] Which signifies the "hated," or "hateful city."

give it in its current form—"It is said that the mismanagement of this city was once so flagrant, that the strong used to oppress the weak with impunity. To such an extent did lawlessness prevail that a certain strong man used habitually to stop all funeral processions that passed by his house, and demand from the mourners a fee. After a lapse of twelve years one of the king's daughters died, and this man, according to his wont, stopped the royal cortège until the usual unlawful fee had been paid. On hearing of this outrage the reigning monarch Naûshirâvân[1] sent for the man and demanded an explanation of his late conduct, to which the man answered that, owing to the carelessness and blindness of the authorities, including the king himself, he had been enabled to oppress the people without check in this way for twelve years, and that not until the king suffered personally by the injustice was it deemed necessary to interfere. When this news became public the people deserted the city in a body and branded it with the name of *Shahar-i-Nâparsân*."

On the probability or otherwise of Naushirâvân's Afghan advent, I cannot speak for certain, but think it just possible that this king may, at some period of his long reign, have visited this close neighbour of his own kingdom. Be this as it may, his name is universally associated with these remains, and freely used in connection with many other stories rife in these parts. Before he became so celebrated for justice, it is well known that Naûshirâvân used to practise excessive tyranny. Many stories are told regarding the cause of his reform, but the following belongs to this neighbourhood, and indeed to these very remains: "It is related that, whilst the king was strolling with his vizir Baktak, two doves—one snow-white and the other black—were conversing together, just over their heads. The black dove proposed marriage to the white one, to which the latter answered that it would comply only when the former became sufficiently powerful to give it (the white dove) seven climes. The black dove

[1] Naushirâvân was the 20th king of the 4th dynasty of Persia. He was latterly eminently noted for his justice, and was contemporary with the Roman Emperor Justinian. The prophet Mahomed was born in his reign.

answered that this demand was so thoroughly impossible of fulfilment that even the king Naûshirâvân would become a just man before it would have seven climes in its gift. On hearing this the vizir Baktak, who was acquainted with the language of birds, smiled, and being asked by his master the cause of his mirth, related what these birds had just said; whereupon the king, being much ashamed of his late misdoings, vowed to reform and to practise strict justice in the future."

Dimensions of remains.

The remains of *Shahar-i-Nâparsân* are both extensive and interesting, and contain much early walling, belonging apparently to an earlier period than that of Nâushirâvân. The mound is formed of three parts;[1] of which the two end ones are raised higher than the centre and form oblong mounds, each measuring 625 feet long from north to south, and 280 feet broad from east to west. These are divided by a space of uncultivable ground, 590 feet from east to west, and 625 feet the other way, more or less covered with potsherds, but lower than the end mounds and exhibiting generally a thinner sprinkling of dêbris. From the above it will be seen that this mound extends 1,150 feet east and west, and 625 feet north and south. With the exception of a mound, 55 feet square, which is said to represent the foundations of a house, and into which the Sappers dug a well, no individual portion of these remains is distinguishable from another, and even at the two ends, where the early brick-work and pottery is most plentiful, the appearance presented is merely that of two solid mounds, and hence my remark that the Sappers' exploration, and more especially their *excavations*, in the vicinity of Chârsada, were abandoned at a time when they were *barely commenced*. I made some excavations in and about this mound—one place in particular I thoroughly dug up, *i.e.*, a portion of the ground lying near the footpath from Chârsada to *Shahar-i-Nâparsân*, where the ground sounded very hollow. It was found, however, that

[1] See sketch, Plate XXII.

the hollowness was caused by a curious natural cavity in the earth, 9 feet below its surface. During these excavations I found much fragmentary glazed pottery, and a very curious polygonal copper bead, pierced right through from each of its twelve angles to that on the opposite side. I could not find out anything about what purpose this object could have been intended to serve, and a thorough exploration of this mound would doubtless bring to light many objects of interest, and probably Hwen Thsang's stûpa to the east of Peukelaotis.

Excavations, &c.

29.—JUMÂLGARHI.

So much has already been written about these famous ruins on the Jumâlgarhi Hill, and on that of Takt-i-Bahi, that a very brief account of my work at the former site will suffice. I examined the remains at Takt-i-Bahi, but made no stay there.

Jumâlgarhi: excavations, &c.

I would not have visited Jumâlgarhi had it not been directly on my road northwards from Mardan to the Sinâwa Mountains, but during my halt at Jumâlgarhi, I was tempted to commence some tentative excavations in a portion of the ruins which appeared to stand in need of further exploration; I allude to the great circular foundation—probably the base of a stûpa situated near the middle of these remains. In the centre of this circle I sunk a well 5 feet in diameter, and, after a couple of days, reached the bare rock upon which this ancient city was built.

Discoveries.

The following is the result of this excavation :—

1. A highly wrought female head (blue-stone), with hair lauriated and arranged in Grecian style.
2. A female bust partially draped and wearing a coronet (free-stone).
3. A portion of a miniature tope umbrella or canopy (blue-stone).
4. Numerous fragmentary sculptures, amongst which were some broken life-size male heads in frieze-stone.

Remains.

A high mound a little to the north of the village of Jumâlgarhi seems to have attracted as yet no notice, and I therefore mention it as a likely spot for future exploration. This mound, nearly 100 feet long, though not so broad, is pronounced to be a Hissâr of Kafirs, and a *solid wall* is visible at the side, where a small *rûd*, "stream," cuts the mound. It was principally on account of the assistance rendered to me while at Jumâlgarhi by the enlightened Râis Mahamad Afzal Khân and others that I heard of the inscription at *Ayasíri* (Bajor) and those of *Mûrabanda* and *Aladand* in the *Swât* direction.

30.—ISMASGHÂR.

Ismasghâr: height.

I have no hesitation in saying that the great rock excavations situated between the mountains of Shamozai and Babozai, on a ridge of the Sinâwar Range which divides British territory from the Bûnâr country, are the *most* remarkable and noteworthy of the many interesting objects to be seen west of the Indus.

The height of these remains can best be estimated by a statement of the time occupied in reaching them from the foot of the mountains. Starting at 7-30 A.M., and losing no time in climbing up the difficult path, we did not gain the lowermost remains till noon, and commenced mounting the perpendicular rock that lies immediately under the great cave, which we made at 1 P.M. Though the whole of this ascent is very difficult and steep, obliging one to rest at every 50 paces or so, the perpendicular rock at foot of the *ghâr* is absolutely perilous. As I have before stated, this rock is *perpendicular*, as a wall; and in journeying to the great cave the foot is cautiously placed in natural fissures, which occur at irregular intervals, and there are also, fortunately, a few strong weeds springing from the crevices of this rock, and these afford a hold for the hands. A few of my servants, more venturesome than their fellows, who accompanied us,

were warned not on any account to look back into the fosse at our feet (in which, with the exception of floating clouds, nothing was discernible), as a dizziness is known to seize those who contemplate this abyss. I was accompanied on this expedition by upwards of thirty experienced mountaineers carrying their own weapon—extremely long matchlocks, with which they amused themselves by shooting the wild monkeys and mountain-goats found here in great numbers. Singing was another pastime these brave fellows indulged in, and right well they sang too; it is a strange fact that, though singly most unattractive, when their voices are combined and accompanied by the *rabâb* (the Persian and especially Afghân guitar), their ghazals sound remarkably well among these vast mountains. Through the courtesy of the Assistant Commissioner of Mardân, I had the valuable help of the naib tahsildâr of those cantonments, who continued with my camp during my researches in Yûsufzai, being substituted, on my arrival at Soâbi, by the tahsildâr of that place.

The path to Ismasghâr.

After traversing about 5 miles—the whole distance from the top of the mountain to its foot is said to be 8 miles—the remains of a temple (*Büt khana*) becomes visible, and on using a powerful field-glass, some images are also seen amongst these ruins, which are comparatively insignificant, few, and roofless.

Ruined temples and sculptures.

Higher up, the chasm is flanked on the north by a large artificial plateau of cultivable soil, close to which are traces of a large square tank and numerous massive walls; on the south, by an early fortress built of large, partially-dressed stones, interspersed by thin wedges of the same material. Immediately under the first-named remains is a cave of habitable dimensions, *i.e.*, 71 feet long, stretching from north to south, 5 feet 9 inches high, and 7 feet 7 inches wide at mouth. In common with many such caves, this one seems to be wrought by man, though doubtless the spot chosen for such a work may have originally afforded natural advantages for excavation.

Cultivable soil, fortress, and tank.

Lower or minor cave.

Many have ascended as far as these early dwellings, which are evidently of Bûddhistic origin, bearing a strong resemblance in their construction to the buildings of Jumâlgarhi, Takt-i-Bahi, &c.; and this in itself is a most difficult ascent, but few indeed reach the great cave of *Ismasghâr*, which is immediately preceded by the huge vertical rock before mentioned.

The Great Cave.

Similar to the minor cave already described, but on a much larger scale, are the great rock excavations of *Ismasghâr*, or *Kashmirismas*, by which latter name this cave is perhaps best known to the people of these regions. The main body of the *ghâr* itself is said to be capable of holding five thousand souls, and I doubt not that such a number would find an asylum within its premises.

Interior of Great Cave.

Facing the west of the mountain process called the Sinâwa Range, the entrance of this cave leads up to an extensive flight of stone steps, which, at a distance from the entrance of about three-fourths, the total length of the cave, takes a curve to the right. Following the direction of these steps with many lighted torches, as it is very dark in this part of the cave, we arrived at the south by the west limit, which is altogether about 700 paces from the mouth of cave, and here we were partially lighted by an oblong opening, cut presumably to serve as a window, through a thin part of the rock found on this aspect: in any case, the light of day penetrates cheerfully through this opening and forms a striking contrast to the almost pitch darkness before traversed. In the immediate neighbourhood of this natural stream of light, I observed what appeared to be some very early masonry, amongst which a small votive temple, with several niches destined for small effigies, probably of *Bûddha*, is remarkable. The roof of this building, originally built of overlapping bricks and of cupola, or *târam*, form, has almost wholly fallen in. But the principal, and certainly the most curious, remains in this portion of the

Temple inside Great Cave.

Ismasghâr excavations are the minor caves or cells met with in all directions. This labyrinth would in itself be deserving of several days' examination, were such a thing possible, but a sojourn here for a time is unhappily impracticable, as, besides being in the midst of Bûnârs, who are suspicious—not to say disagreeable—companions at best, the visitor to these regions is very far away from his tents and supplies, and in a place where it is quite impossible to convey them. This will be thoroughly understood when it is known that one is compelled to abandon even one's own boots and wear in their stead the mountaineer's slippers (Chapli), and that a walking stick has also to be dispensed with, before attempting to reach the *Kashmir-Cave.*

Interior cells.

Inaccessibility of Great Cave.

The most noteworthy of these minor caves is the deep, narrow excavation situated in a dark hollow of the rock, near that section where the great flight of steps before alluded to terminates. At the mouth of this cave I noticed a light-coloured stone, which, by attrition, caused by the entrance and egress of its former occupants, has acquired a very high polish. It will be observed that this friction must have been considerable to have produced a glass-like polish on the rough, irregular rock of which this cave is formed. I infer that either the occupants were very numerous, or, which is more probable, that this cave *did* actually lead to some haunt which, from various reasons—perhaps the closing of some air passages by falling rocks,—has long since been inaccessible. The aperture of this famous cave is barely 26 inches, which, however, is sufficient for the passage of a man of ordinary proportions. But, though very narrow at its mouth, this cave, when once entered, is found comparatively roomy. At exactly 21 feet from its entrance, candles or torches are alike extinguished: this is a very simple oxygenous phenomenon, but one which contributes largely to the popular fame of this cave, and quite mystifies the peasantry, who have several fabulous tales of its probable

Kashmir Cave.

termination, which also account in various ways for its inaccessibility, the majority believing that it offers a passage, through several wealthy and undiscovered regions, to *Kashmir!* and hence its popular name of *Kashmírismas*, which properly belongs to this small cave, and has in course of time been extended in its meaning until it is now applied generally to the whole excavation. The voyage of discovery through these supposed countries to Kashmír is, however, traditionally reserved for a much braver man than at present seems to exist.

Discovery of Gûpta inscription.

It was near the mouth of this cave that I discovered a *Gûpta* inscription in fair preservation, of which I secured an impression on the spot. This inscription is old, and records a gift possibly made to the small integral temples before mentioned or some other religious establishment contained in the great cave. I am indebted for the following abstract reading of this inscription to General Cunningham, who opines that the record is chiefly valuable as showing what may be expected to be found hereafter in *Swât* and *Bûnír*, and that the inscription may be 1,400 years old :—

"*The religious (or pious) gift of Krishna Gupta.*"

Dimensions of stone tank inside Great Cave.

Of the objects in this wonderful cave that yet remain undescribed, the stone tank, situated in the main hall or body of the cave, is most noteworthy. This excavation, as an example of geometrical precision, is quite unequalled anywhere in this part of the country, rich though it be in rock carvings. The tank is oblong in form, with perpendicular walls, measuring from east to west 20 feet 6 inches, and from north to south 14 feet 8 inches, and 12 feet 2 inches deep. It is at present quite dry, and resembles a huge bath, with steps leading to its floor. These steps are twenty in number, which, adhering to the depth above stated, allows 7½ inches for each step. A much mutilated inscription on the road up to the cave is also worth a passing notice. If the marks of which it is formed are characters

Exterior inscription (?).

at all, of which there may be reasonable doubt, they may be Persian, and I thought I could read *amin* in one place; but most probably this carving is merely floral ornament or scrolls, of which some more specimens are seen below the cave's entrance.

It occurred to me on examining these ruins that the fortress, cultivable land, wells, tanks, and early *Bûddhistic* dwellings which occur among the *Bûnír* Mountains, a stage below the Great Cave, may, including the last-named cave, have belonged in common to a people (probably a colony of *Bûddhist* monks, who may have been succeeded by Brâhmans in course of time) inhabiting these regions,—I say "in common" because the construction of the lower works is identical with *every building inside the higher cave*, and hence may with comparative safety be considered as coeval with them. My impression is that this *ghâr*, or great cave, may have been the magazine or store-house of the fort and dwellings below, besides furnishing a vast hall for synods, meetings, &c.; and I would regard the numerous small caves here, not as cells or dwellings, as one cannot well imagine man under ordinary circumstances inhabiting them, but as places in which to perform penance, the want of fresh air and compression of the body into a given position furnishing the necessary mortification.

Comparative age of remains.

Use of minor caves.

Though I took full advantage of every opportunity for the greater part of a day to examine the *Ismasghâr* and its environment, I doubt not that much that is both interesting and instructive may have escaped my notice, and which, when discovered, will doubtless cast more light on a subject concerning which so little information of a reliable nature exists.

31.—SÂWALDHÎR OR THARELI.

While encamped at *Bâbûzai*, I heard of the ruins of *Thareli*, which adjoin *Sâwaldhír*, being situated about 3 miles east of *Jumâlgarhi*, and, on visiting that site, found that the Sappers and

Remains at Sâwaldhír.

Miners had made some excavations there a few years ago. These excavations I continued, and found several fragmentary sculptures, &c., in what appeared to me to be the remains of a fort, or even perhaps a small city. During the first day's work we struck upon a massive stone weighing about 20 *mans*, which, on being unearthed, proved to be carved on three sides with ornamental scrolls, having a circular hollow wrought in one corner. This hollow the people immediately persisted in calling *katori*, or basin, averring that its use was to pulverise *dárú* (a vegetable from which intoxicating liquor is made). This explanation is, however, very doubtful, and this object appeared to me more like the lower receptacle for the pivot of a gate, such as is often found among such ruins: if so, the floor level of the building to which it belonged must have been considerably below that of these remains, which is very probable, as this carved block was found perfectly level and apparently *in situ*. Of the carvings on this stone, little need be said further than that they comprised no inscriptions, at least that were legible, and were for the most part extremely irregular and badly executed zig-zag designs.

Excavations, &c.

But for the discovery, in a strange position, of an inscribed obelisk not far from the Thareli Ruins, I would have been disappointed with my journey in that direction, though, had any time been sufficient for more complete excavations, adequate results might reasonably have been expected. While riding round this neighbourhood I chanced to meet a few peasants, who told me of an inscription in a graveyard at Sáwaldhir, and on arrival at the spot indicated I was agreeably surprised to find an inscription in two long lines, covering a stone about 5 feet long and 2 feet square, which stood on a *zidrat*, or "tomb," bedizened with bright-coloured flags, and marking the position of the inmate's head. This stone, I was solemnly told, was sacred to the memory of the *Shhyd*, "martyr," buried there, for, according to the Muhammadan religion, those who perish by assassination (which is unhappily the cause of a large per-

Discovery of Sanskrit inscription.

centage of the deaths in Yûsufzai) are absolved from all sins they may have committed during their lifetime.[1] These unfortunate victims are accordingly canonised, and devoutly venerated by the people, more especially of the lower orders, who believe that devotion to these shrines (ziárats) will result in the intercession, on their behalf, by the luckless murdered ones at the day of judgment (*rozyakin* or *kiámat*).

From the preceding it will be understood that, having in their excessive ignorance adopted this Sanskrit inscription for the martyr's head-stone, the villagers entertained strong objections to its being displaced; alleging with confident belief that it set forth all the *Shhyd's* perfections, and the *tahsildâr*, who happened to be with me at the time, though a man conversant with Pashtû, Persian, and Arabic, having altogether failed to read any portion of it, it only remained for me to undeceive them with reference to the characters employed in this record. On hearing that the stone bore a *shâshtare*, or, as the peasantry in their virtuous indignation called it, *Kafir* "unbeliever's" record, they instantly relieved the ziârat of this to them hateful object, gladly giving me permission to remove it, and expressing themselves thankful to get rid of it.

Proceedings.

Though this stone weighs about 9 *mans*, I managed to carry it, part of the way by camels and partly by bullock carts, to the banks of the *Aba Sin* at *Hind* or *Ohind*, whence I sailed it to Attok and railed it to Lahore.

In addition to its value as a Yûsufzai inscription, this stone is interesting as showing how little has yet been accomplished by "mass education"—a blessing which, as one interested in the subject, travelling in unfrequented and obscure tracts of country, I have no hesitation in saying has not reached the people. The above-cited instance shows that the Musalmân peasantry *across* the Indus cannot distinguish between Arabic and Devanâgari letters; nor is this

[1] On this subject, the Mahomedan law says—

مَن قُتِلَ مظلومًا بغير ذنب فهو كالشهيد

i.e., "whoever is killed as an oppressed [one without any fault] is like (a) martyr."

all. I have met with *several* cases in *Hindûstân*, where *Thakurs in formal charge of temples* cannot read the most simple Hindi sentences, to say nothing of the more complex language employed in the books with which it is their profession to be thoroughly versed; moreover, these much neglected men do not even know the names of the works that, by virtue of their caste and calling, they are supposed to have mastered, nor the names or attributes of the symbols and idols they tend and daily anoint.

Use of inscribed stone.

It would be difficult to say what purpose my Sâwaldhir inscription could have served originally. It has none of those cavities often found in such structural fragments by which they were held *in situ*, nor is it squared or smoothly wrought, being rough and irregular even on its inscribed face. Nevertheless the horizontal position of the inscribed lines induces me to regard it as the lintel in the entrance to some building—probably a temple,—in which case it must have merely *rested* on its supporting uprights, being maintained in that position by its weight alone, as no fastenings or places for any are apparent. Nothing, however, can be more probable than such a record having originally formed the lintel of a temple, but I failed, notwithstanding careful search in the neighbourhood, to connect this inscribed stone with any other existent remains, and can only infer that these zealous, though lamentably ignorant, people may have brought the stone, mistaking it for a Moslem talisman, from elsewhere, perhaps generations ago, as the cemetery of Sâwaldhir is no modern institution.

32.—SHÂHBÂZ-GARHI.

Shâhbâz-garhi: General features of surrounding country.

In the barren waste of rock and plain surrounding the village of *Shâhbâz-garhi*, I experienced some remarkably severe tempests of hail late in March. So fearful, indeed, was the hail-storm on a few occasions that it was matter of surprise to me that the tents, etc., were not carried away by the accompanying wind. I was informed

that these dreadful tempests are common to all parts of Yûsufzai at this time of the year, and have no doubt the gales at least are enhanced in severity by the extremely barren nature of the country, wholly unclothed by foliage of any kind for miles around in certain places. Yet this country must have undergone considerable change within the past few centuries, as we learn, from his own and contemporary accounts, that the emperor Babir hunted the wild elephant in these regions, and indeed, from personal enquiry, I believe that, within the memory of several men now living, a mass of vegetation, now quite extinct, flourished here. At present, however, Yûsufzai generally, and this part of Yûsufzai in particular, is distressingly barren and altogether most wearisome in appearance.

Though I visited *Shâhbâz-garhi* principally to secure photographic records of the two great rock inscriptions for which it has long been famous, the extremely inclement weather before mentioned delayed me here much longer than was necessary for this work alone. But if my stay here was more protracted than I could have wished, it enabled me to examine thoroughly the existing remains of the neighbourhood. These consist, first, of a mound called *Hindû dhêri*, about one-fourth of a mile south-east of the village of *Shâhbâz-garhi*. This mound measures 174 feet from east to west, 114 feet from north to south, and 31 feet high. I dug two trenches right across the mound, and from these excavations concluded that it must be full of human skeletons, as we found several tumuli containing covered vessels, shells, bones, &c. Indeed the Hindûs at *Garhi Umr Zai* to a very late date were in the habit of burying the children of their community that were too young to cremate all around the foot of this barrow.[1] In my excavations, which were confined to the top of this mound, I also

Hindû-dehêri: dimensions, &c.

[1] Hence its present name. *Hindû-dehêri*, or the plural form of *Hindûân-dehir*, has been identified by Dr. Bellew (Yûsufzai Report, page 116) with the site of *Shâhbâz Kalandar's* tomb, to which the village is supposed to owe its name. As *Shâhbâz-Kalandar* lived late in the 15th century, this designation must be comparatively modern.

found some stone walling. This was more clearly visible along the outer edge, about half-way up the mound.

Second, to the north of *Hindû-Dhêri*, I found a rock-hewn cave, 4 feet 7 inches deep, 3 feet 9 inches high, and 3 feet 6 inches wide. Until a very late date a *faqir* used to inhabit this cave, which forms a niche on the western face of one of the huge shapeless rocks abounding in this part of the country. I was unable to determine whether this cave was artificially wrought or merely a natural fissure in the rock, as there are no chisel marks, as seen in the rock excavations of *Rânigat*.

Boulder cave.

Third, the two great rock inscriptions, long since identified by Norris to be transcripts in the Aryan characters of Asoka's well-known edicts. The rock bearing these early writings occupies a position betwixt the two above-named objects (*i.e.*, Hindû-Dhêri and the faqir's cave), and is inscribed on its north and south-west faces, which measure 23 feet 4 inches by 9 feet 8 inches and 13 feet 11 inches by 4 feet 5 inches respectively; the whole rock being 77 feet 10 inches in circuit.

Asoka inscriptions.

I found considerable difficulty in getting legible photographs of these two inscriptions, for, besides the excessive roughness and irregularity of the surfaces upon which they are engraved (frequent hollows occurring in the rock by which the writing is deprived of light), the large inscription is unfortunately at a great disadvantage, as it faces the north, which aspect was visited by the sun's rays for barely a few minutes daily. On my arrival at Ṣhâhbâzgarhi, the letters of these inscriptions were almost invisible on account of the vigorous growth of fungous vegetation which covered alike the characters and their interspaces; and, even after removing this, many futile attempts to secure clear photographs pointed out the necessity of some plan being adopted by which a distinction may be secured between the ground or space dividing the letters, and the shallow and much-worn[1] intaglio letters them-

[1] Even in General Court's time these inscriptions were described by him (the original discoverer) as "almost effaced by time"—*vide* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. V, p. 481.

selves, and, unwilling to leave Ṣhâhbâz-garhi without photographs of this remarkable stone, I commenced a long and tedious process, but the only one by which any result was likely to be obtained, *i.e.*, having coloured both faces of the inscribed rock with *gêrû*, a natural colour of reddish hue and not unlike venetian red, and, like it too, manufactured from mere earth. I then had the ground between the characters lightened in colour by several pads, or dabbers, surcharged with a greyish colour, compounded from whitening and the grey chalk used by mahâjans for writing: by this means the letters, subjected to no unguided hand-work, but merely touched on their *natural projections*, and therefore wholly unaltered, were made more legible, and, by catching the sun at the correct angle (this caused some tiresome delay, as for several days the clouds obscured the sun at the only time it lighted the north inscription to advantage), I secured plates on which, in a fairly strong light and by the aid of a moderately powerful magnifier, every letter at all legible on the rock can be clearly read.

Proceedings.

Fourth, *Babal-dhêri*, situated about 2,000 feet eastward of *Shâhbâz-garhi*.

Fifth, some remains called *Dehîri-Khera-gandi* on the east side of Mount Zârrai, and some low mounds exhibiting fragmentary pottery, and extending for about a mile to the north and north-east of the village.

Remains.

Sixth, at the western end of the ridge of mountains situated towards the north of *Ṣhâhbâz-garhi*, and terminating at their eastern extremity in the *Gel-pass*, I observed an abrupt gap, resembling a large embrasure for cannon, of which the sides, or walls, are almost perpendicular. On examining this spot I found much broken pottery and fragments of earthenware, and my servants also brought in numerous spinning weights of baked clay from the irregular plateau occurring behind, or to the north of, this embrasure, which first called my attention to this ridge. The people know nothing of this place, which may, however, from its position and other advan-

tages, whether altogether natural or partly artificial, have been a small fortress. That it was inhabited formerly is amply evidenced by the dêbris, &c., with which it is covered.

Regarding the antiquity of this site, General Cunningham, who identifies it with the city of the famous Bûddhist Prince Ṣudâna, has written,[1] "During my stay at Shâhbâz-garhi, I made a survey of the neighbourhood, and was surprised to find the present village was the site of a very old and extensive city which, according to the people, was once the capital of the country. They pointed to several mounds of ruins as having been inside the city. The truth of these statements was confirmed by an examination of the ground within the limits specified, which I found everywhere strewn with broken bricks and pottery. The old name of the place was not known; but some said it was *Sittâmi*, and others *Sitrâm* and *Sitarâmi*, all of which I believe to be simple corruptions of the name of the famous *Bûddhist* Prince *Sudâna* or *Sudatta*."

Antiquity of Shâhbâz-garhi.

My own enquiries elicited the following information on this and other similar subjects of a topographical nature:—

That formerly in the *Sitarâmi* or Hindû period, three powerful brothers ruled west of the Indus. The capital of each of these *Kât* or *Kafir* Kings, named *Bâgrâm*, *Sâgrâm* and *Nâgrâm* (merely a corruption of *Nâg-Râm*), was *Peshâwar*, *Takht-i-Bahi*, and *Nôgrâm*, probably called *Nâgram*, respectively. These brothers are believed in by Musalmâns and Hindûs alike from the *Khybar* to the *Khûso-khel* territory (where the name of the last city still exists in a slightly corrupted form) west and east, and from *Bûnír* to *Kohat* north and south. The three capitals before named formerly bore the Hindû chiefs' names in the ordinary form; thus, *Peshâwar* was called *Bâgrâmpûra*, &c. The site now occupied by this city was, however, known early in the Muhammadan period as *Shhar-i-Sabaz*, or the "green" or "verdant city," a name not altogether obsolete, even now,

The brothers Bâgrâm, Sâgrâm and Nâgrâm former rulers of Peshâwar, Takt-i-Bahi and Nâgrâm.

[1] Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. V, p. 9.

among the more enlightened classes, that of "*Peshâwar*" being of later date. [Peshawar was Akbar's alteration of the old name of Parshâwar, or Purushâwar, which is many centuries older than the first Muhammadan occupation A. C.]

It thus becomes apparent that the term *Sitarâmi* is now employed here merely to indicate the *Hindû Period,* and indeed means anything of Hindû origin or relating to the worshippers of *Râm* and *Sitâ* as typical of the Hindû gods generally. Hence, all Hindû coins (of which numbers are found in the vicinity of *Shâhbâzgarhi,* at which place and the adjacent Hindû village of *Garhi'Umarzai* I collected some specimens) are called *Sitarâmi:* Dharamsâlas, mounds of real or supposed Hindû origin are called *Sitarâmi-bûtkhâna* and *Dhír-i-Sitarâmi,* &c. I conclude, therefore, that little reliance should be placed in the partial agreement between the words *Sittâmi, Sitrâm, Sitarâmi* (of which the two former are merely corruptions), and *Sudâna* or *Sudatta,* especially when a much more striking phonetic correspondence exists between the latter name and *Sudum,* but a few miles distant from Shâhbâzgadhi, and quite close also to the two-chambered cave discovered and identified by General Cunningham with the cave of prince Sûdatta—see page 13, &c., Archæological Survey Reports.

On the term *Sitarâmi.*

33.—GARHI 'ÛMARZAI.

A small tola, inhabited almost entirely by Hindûs of the *Bania* and *Mahâjan* classes, and situated between *Kot-Ismaelzai* and *Dowlatzai.*

Garhi 'Umarzai contains an old Dharamsâla, now much ruined, and the most remarkable building of the kind in the neighbourhood. The frequent discovery of coins here, a circumstance rightly held as proof of antiquity, besides the existence of divers brick-strewn mounds—induces me to assign an early occupation to *Garhi' Umarzai,* where

Dharamsâlâ at Garhi 'Umarzai.

I collected a few coins from Hindûs. After but one day's halt here, I marched to *Shiva* for *Rânigat* (Nogrâm), &c.

The Hindûs west of the Indus struck me as being a very different class of men to those of Hindûstan. Here (in Afghanistan) they are generally the money-lenders, or bankers, and occupy a very similar position to the Jews in European countries, and, albeit the usurious propensities of the Hindûs of Hindûstân are also remarkable, those of Afghanistan confine themselves almost wholly to such as traffic, and are, I am told, quite unmerciful to the Pathâns when a chance occurs. This, however, is but a natural return for the very scant civility habitually shown by the latter towards the *Bûtparast*, or "idol-worshippers."

Several fables about Mân Singh's invasion of Kabûl are rife here, and indeed are well known to all Hindûs west of the Indus. The following, now converted into a song, seeks to account for the name of Attak (Indus or Aba Sin). It is said that when *Râjâ Mân Singh*[1] arrived with his army at the banks of *Sindu-nadi*, no boats could be found to convey them across, and, losing heart, several of the party contemplated retreat, when their brave leader plunged his horse into the great river and inspired his followers to attempt, successfully, a similar passage of the Indus, by repeating in a loud voice the following stanza:—

Sab-hí bhûm Gopâl ka—
Jis ne ATTAK *kahâ hai;*
Ja ka man men ATTAK *hain,—*
So-hí ATTAK *raha hai.*
"The universe is His who cherishes the cow,[2]
And who the *Attak* named;
Those who do *obstruction* know,—
They alone will *daunted* stand."

The Attak: origin of name.

The italics in the translation give the three meanings conveyed by a play on the word *Attak*. The *ja* in the third line is merely a

[1] Probably *Jagat Sinh*, the general despatched against Kabul in the 17th century. The name of Râjâ Mân Singh is so celebrated among Hindûs that he is commonly cited in connexion with nearly every achievement by Hindû arms.

[2] "Cow-cherisher," an epithet of the Supreme Being according to the Hindûs.

Hindû provincialism, and obviously a corruption of *jon*, "whom," or the possessive "whose;" the plural case being understood by the nasal terminating the same line.

The origin of the modern name for this great river, as above given, though not far wrong chronologically, must be a mere bardic invention, as, according to *Akbar-nâmah*, the name of *Attak* was chosen by *Akbar*, who built the town, because it rhymes with *Katak*, another frontier town of his empire. Abul Fazl also mentions the name *Attak* long before the building of the fort there—see *Akbar-nâmah*, Vols. II and III, pp. 302 and 335 respectively.

34.—KOTKI OR URIA.

Kotki explorations.

Here the 10th Company of Sappers and Miners, commanded by Lieutenant Maxwell, R.E., made some excavations, of which an account and some sketches have been sent into Government by that officer,[1] so that little remains to be said on the subject.

The small ruined buildings generally called *Kotki* are spread over that portion of the Kâramâr Hill overlooking the village of *Uria* for nearly a mile around. The principal structure is that of a temple. This is the only object that stood in need of examination—that is to say, if *anything* here were of sufficient importance or interest to require attention, which is very doubtful indeed.

Remains.

This building—which we will call a "temple," though nothing can be advanced to prove that it was not a mere dwelling—has a centre hall, about 40 feet square, entered from the south by a flight of steps. It has very thick walls of stone, built in the ordinary style of Trans-Indus masonry, *i.e.*, shapeless masses of rock, wedged together with smaller stones, and stands on a foundation much larger than itself. The minor buildings are small cells a few feet square, obviously the remains of men-

[1] See Report of Lieutenant Maxwell, R.E., on "Bûddhist Explorations" in the Peshâwar District, 1882.

dicants' dwellings. These cells promised absolutely nothing beforehand, and, when some of them were cleaned out by Sappers, yielded no more than they had promised.

Gilded figure discovered at Kotki.

On the occasion of my visit to *Uria*, I saw a blue stone statue measuring 16½ inches high, which had been unearthed by the Sappers' diggings on the 31st of March. It appears to me from the up-raised right hand (unfortunately broken off) to represent Bûddha in the act of teaching the law, and is altogether a most uncommon figure in alto-relief, being in the round in several places, and highly wrought. Its smooth surface (originally covered with gold as evidenced by pieces of that metal still adhering to the recesses and sheltered portions) still exhibits signs of polish. The ornamentation, in whole relief, of the throne upon which the figure is seated is, in particular, very accurately carved. But the most noteworthy feature of this sculpture is the primitive repair it has undergone, perhaps centuries ago, *scil.*, the head (the face of which, including the nose, is quite unbroken) has been severed from the body, possibly by temporary invaders—I say *temporary*, because this member has again been fastened by means of a small iron bolt, now almost demolished by rust, which loosely attaches it. Besides, being of excellent workmanship, this statue is evidently antique, for it was a practice with the earliest sculptors to embellish their works with leaves of gold.

With the exception of the figure above described, I saw nothing among the *Kotki* sculptures beyond the conventional and common-place examples, of which already too many duplicates exist. To the best of my knowledge none of the statues exhumed by the Sappers, either here or elsewhere, were inscribed. I heard from some men at *Shiva* of a short inscription at *Tâji*; but, as the Sapper Company intended to go in that direction, and I was pressed for time, having received instructions from the Director General of the Archæological Survey regarding the tope at *Takkâl Bâla*, I marched southward on *Attak*, whence I re-visited *Peshâwar* and *Takkâl Bâla* hard by, after having made a complete circuit of British Afghânistan.

35.—RANIGAT.

Of less magnitude than the great fortifications and rock buildings of *Ismasgarh* are those situated on the summit of the precipitous mountain, quite 1,000 feet high, overlooking the village of Nogrâm, or, as I have before shown, more correctly Nâgrâm.

Much has been written of late years on the interesting subject of the topographical identification of certain ancient sites mentioned by the classics, more particularly the historians, of Alexander the Great's invasion of India ; and, though much of the work done in this direction by modern research is still open to discussion, I venture to say that few more satisfactory examples exist than the identification of the hill fortress of Rânigat with that of the ancient Aornos, in which the disaffected population sought refuge from the Greek troops, and which, we are told by Arrian and Curtius, was ultimately subdued by the Greek king.

I do not propose in this short account of Rânigat to deal with the question of identification: on which point the opinions of such authorities as Generals Cunningham, Abbott, and Court, and the enlightened missionary Mr. Loewenthal, differ widely. The following is a list of places that, at different times and by the different authorities noted against each, have been pronounced the present representatives of the famous Aornos:—

General Cunningham—The ruined fortress of *Ránigat.*
General Court and Mr. Loewenthal—The Castle of Râjâ Hodi, opposite Attak.
General Abbott—The *Mahában* hill, east of Rânigat.

It will be observed that the subject has already been much discussed, and a comprehensive synopsis of it will be found in pages 95—111, Vol. II of the Archæological Reports. In the meantime, before proceeding with the account of my visit to Nâgrâm, I will quote two admirable descriptions of the Rânigat fortress—

" Rânigat is situated on a lofty hill above the village of Nâgrâm, which is just 12 miles to the south-east of Bazar, and 16 miles to the

north of Ohind.[1] Its position, therefore, is strongly in favour of its identification with Aornos. The hill itself is the last point of one of the long spurs of the Mahâban range. Its base is rather more than 2 miles in length from north to south by about half a mile in width, but the top of the hill is not more than 1,200 feet in length by 820 feet in breadth. In 1848 I estimated its height at 1,000 feet, but from the unanimous assertions of the people that it is higher than Panjpir, I think that it is probably not less than 1,200 feet. The sides of the hill are covered with massive blocks of stone, which make it exceedingly rugged and inaccessible. There is only one road, cut in the rock, leading to the top, although there are two, if not more, rather difficult pathways. This, we know, was also the case with Aornos, as Ptolemy succeeded in reaching the top by a 'rugged and dangerous path,' whilst Alexander himself attacked the place by one regular path, which was cut out by the hand. Rânigat may be described as consisting of a castle, 500 feet long by 400 feet broad, surrounded on all sides, except the east, where it springs up from the low spur of Mahâban by a rocky ridge, which on the north rises to an equal height. On all sides the castle rock is scarped, and on two sides it is separated from the surrounding ridge by deep ravines, that to the north being 100 feet deep, and that to the west from 50 to 150 feet. At the north-west angle of the castle two dykes have been thrown across the ravine, which would appear to have been intended to arrest the flow of water, and thus to form a great reservoir in the west hollow. In the north ravine, between the castle and the great isolated block called Rânigat, there are three square wells, and to the north-east, lower down, I thought I could trace another dyke, which was most probably only the remains of a part of the outer line of defences. The entire circuit of this outer line is about 4,500 feet, or somewhat less than a mile."[2]

The same fortress is thus described by Mr. Loewenthal:—

"The summit of the hill offers a flat plateau of some size, which has been very strongly fortified by buildings all around the brow. These buildings are constructed of large blocks of stone (conglomerate found on the spot), neatly shewn, and carefully fitted, disposed with great regularity, and laid in a cement of extraordinary excellence Unavoidable interstices between the large blocks are filled up by layers of thin small stone tables, this latter practice being an invariable feature in all the so-called Kafir buildings which I have seen in the Trans-Indus country."

[1] Called now simply Hind.—H. B. W. G.

[2] General Cunningham, Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. II p. 107

However, in no account of these remains have I been able to find any information regarding the minor details which struck me on examining Rânigat. Foremost among these is a rock throne situated on the hill opposite that on which the shapeless obelisk called *Rânigat*, or "the Queen's stone," stands. This remarkable throne is hewn out of a large rock, and is approached by three steps. It stands on a kind of dias, at the foot of which there is an oblong shallow tank, or aquarium. The throne is capable of seating three persons, and the people say that *Râjâ Vâra*, and his two queens (after one of whom these remains are called) used to take the air on this throne, and feed the sacred fishes at their feet by way of recreation.

Minor remains.

I also found several small cupolas at the back of the castle, which appeared to me to be the remains of votive *stûpas*. I should have liked to open some of these curious little topes, but was under the necessity of returning to my camp at Shiva before nightfall, as I had been recommended by the district authorities not to stay a night in independent territory. It must be said, however, that the *Khân* of Tetola, *Mukarrab Khân*, received me on the frontier very kindly, and hospitably sending his nephews and attendants to escort me to and from Nogrâm.

A fabulous legend exists that one of the queens of *Râjâ Vâra* used occasionally to sit on the monolithic rock called *gat*, and order an instant supply of fresh water to be brought from the *Abâsîn*, and that this order was obeyed by several hundred men who, forming a line at a distance of a few paces from each other, passed on a goblet of the required water from hand to hand, commencing at the banks of the Indus and at length reaching the queen. This rock, in fact, would require an active man with ladders, &c., to reach its summit; and I cannot account for the above fable, unless, indeed, *Râjâ Vâra's* wife was an extraordinary climber. There are no steps of any sort near the famous *gat*, nor any traces of such having ever existed.

The unattached rock excavations here are also remarkable. These are, for the most part, large boulders, hollowed out and

supplied with doors and windows *ad libitum*. The most remarkable of these is to the south of the castle, and, most unaccountably, called *Katri-kor*, "the grain-merchant's house." These interesting excavations are thus noticed by General Cunningham:[1]—"Numbers of these stones are of very large size, and some of those on the top of the hill have been hollowed out to form cells. * * * Amongst these remains many of the cells are quite plain inside, whilst others have the simple ornament of a niche or two. The most notable of these excavated blocks is on the ridge to the south of the castle. It is called *Katri-kor*, or "the grain-merchant's house," by the people, but I observed nothing about the rock that would give any clue to its original purpose save the smallness of the entrance, which was certainly better suited for the cell of a monk than for the shop of a dealer.

36.—JANGÎRA, OR JAHÂNGÎRA.

Jahângîra: derivation of name.

Passing quickly through the numerous remains at *Dobian*, where I noted several objects worthy of future examination, I arrived in Jangîra, situated on north-east banks of the Landi river. The villages of Jahângira (for there are two at a distance of about 100 yards north-west and south-east of each other) are called the "Sailor's Jangîra" and simply "Jangîra" respectively on account of the population of the former village consisting largely of the navigators of the Landi and Attak rivers. The name itself is probably derived from that of the fourth Mûghal Emperor, and, therefore, is not older than the sixteenth century. I have, however, also given the name as it is always pronounced by the villagers, *i.e.*, *Jangîra*, which, I doubt not, is a mere corruption of the fuller *Jahângîra*, "Conqueror of the World." I could hear nothing of any earlier name.

Near the village, or *tola*, of *Allahdhîr* (spelt *Attadhir* in map 14 of Indian Atlas), lay two monoliths of stone. At first

[1] *Vide* Archæological Report, pp. 109 & 110, Vol. II.

sight these look like mere pillars, upon which one would expect to find inscribed records of some kind, but on closer examination it becomes apparent that they are portions of a gateway; and, from the difference in their size, I infer that the longer one, measuring 21 feet 2 inches, might have been an upright of such a gate, and the shorter one of 13 feet 9 inches its lintel. If this be the case, which is pretty certain, one member of this entrance sash is missing, but this may have been broken, and, on account of its portability, utilised by the villagers for building material. These large stones are bevelled off at one edge, and have a groove at the other, which would give us an exact section of the framework meet for gates to hang upon; but it will be asked, "Where is the building to which this gateway belonged?" We have not far to go for an answer to this question, and I would identify much at least of the upper portion of the hill, or barrow, upon which the present village of Allahdhîr stands, with the existing representative of that building, either temple or monastery.

Pillars.

Remains.

I searched in vain for any inscription, or mason's marks, which, had they existed, would in all probability have determined the approximate age alike of these stones and of the structure to which they were attached. They are at present half buried in pits, and surrounded by rude stone walls which, the peasants say, were constructed for their preservation by Colonel Ommaney many years ago. But I cleared out the pits thoroughly, in order to examine the stones in every part.

It is to be regretted that an inhabited village crowns the remains before mentioned, and, of course, quite precludes their excavation.

Between the agricultural and nautical villages of Jahângira, there stands, parallel with the north bank of the Landi river, an old *Sikh* fort, now in ruins, but used by some of the Khâns for stables or cow-houses. It belongs to the period of early *Sikh* rule in this province, and is not by any means an ungraceful building. The plan of this fort is elliptical, with the

Sikh Fort.

curve towards the river's bank or south-west cut off and a straight wall built in its stead. On this side it commands well the bend of the river, and on the north and east the surrounding country.

The boat-builders here are very efficient workmen, and turn out some splendid boats, which they also embellish very tastefully by wood carvings. Besides being much more handsome than any boats I have seen in Hindustân, those of Jahângîra carry very heavy burdens; and on the occasion of my journey by water from Jahângîra to Khyrabâd, I was surprised to see them pack eight of my camels into one boat, besides a quantity of tents and baggage. It is a custom also with these good sailors, before starting on such expeditions, to offer a lengthy prayer, to which they all heartily respond. The current, they say, runs very strong, and I believe the river here abounds with dangerous rocks.

37.—TAKKÂL-BÂLA.

Takkâl Bâla Tope: situation, &c.

The remarkably tall tope, or stûpa, generally known as *Takkâl-Bâla-ka dehri*, being the largest and most important object in the neighbourhood of the village from which it derives its name, is situated on the road from the Peshâwar cantonments to the Khyber, Jamrûd, &c., and about a quarter of a mile distant from *Bûrj-i-Harising*, where there is a police station.

Remains.

I found the *tope* with some difficulty, as there are many ruins in the neighbourhood, such as the low mound of rubbish and boulders co-mixed, in which the Sappers and Miners made some excavations a few years ago. This mound is called *Dheri-Rashakai*, and I suspect must be the same that Mr. Beglar formerly took for the remains of a Bûddhist monastery. I confess, however, that I failed to make out traces of any cells here; but owing to time, and also, perhaps, to the rains, the Sappers' work has been so thoroughly filled in, that this mound now exhibits nothing, though I was informed that it once yielded many fragmentary sculptures: and as my

work at Takkâl Bâla was confined to the excavation of the principal *stûpa*, I was not able to satisfy myself on this point, which is of little moment, as the greater portion of these mounds have been already explored by Sappers. The *tope* being in the midst of many such barrows, one might naturally have looked among them for a monastery of some kind, as it becomes apparent, from other examples of Bûddhist remains, that the Bûddhist monks generally established themselves in close proximity to such stûpæ; but, notwithstanding a due search, I could not fix for certain the site of any monastery.

Antiquity of Tâkkâl Bâla.

There can be no doubt of the antiquity of this site, as, amongst other signs of its claim to an early occupation, is the story told by the peasantry, and in many instances corroborated by the very objects they mention, that "on constructing the *kucha* road (a branch of the main road to Jamrûd) towards Takkâl Bâla *walls*, baked pottery and dêbris of sorts were frequently exhumed;" also some *baker's ovens* have curiously enough been found here a few feet below the ground level. The remains here besides the Great Tope and *Dehîre Rashakai* are those of other *Dehîris* called *Kaosîr* and Bâla.

On the term 'Tope.'

A diversity of opinion exists as to the propriety or otherwise of calling such momunents as the high stûpa of *Takkâl Bâla* "Tope;" and it must be said that this monument is a striking illustration of the inaccuracy of much that has been written on the subject. The following is one of the many instances where a conclusion has been somewhat hastily arrived at: the italics in the following quotation are my own—"....... the term now used is 'Thûp' .... it is, therefore, much to be regretted that *we should have adopted the word 'Tope,'* which preserves neither the spelling nor the *pronunciation* of the true name."[1]

Again, Mr. Fergusson, writing on this subject, complains bitterly of "constantly hearing of the Bhilsa, and the Sarnâth,

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. III, p. 313.

and the Sanchi 'Topes.'" To make the confusion worse he laments—"'Tope' is also the common Anglo-Indian word for a clump of trees." Very true, but that hardly justifies the following—"*In neither sense is the word ever used by natives,* who associate 'tope' with something very different, that is, with cannon or artillery."

That the natives *do* use the word freely in designating such monuments, I will now endeavour to show. While they called all lower mounds in this neighbourhood *dehîri*, the peasantry denied the existence of a *Thûpí, Thûpa, Thûva*, or even the common *dîh*; and in my enquiries being compelled to paraphrase the word for their comprehension, after trying *buland-tila* and other expressions in vain, I accidentally mentioned the much-abused 'tope,' and was much surprised to find that they understood my meaning instantly, and helped me to a minute description of the monument and its surroundings. They did not call it *thûpa* nor *thûpi*, but simply 'tope,' or, more correctly, 'top'—vernacular. Now, it would appear from the above that the word is no mere "adoption of ours," and that it *is* "used by the natives of India" (unless we allow the breadth of the Indus to make a fine distinction); moreover, by the commonest of those natives far and wide.

The Takkâl Bâla tope—for such we may now call it—is built of massive boulders, many of which weigh over half a *mân* each. These boulders are partially dressed, but for the most part were conglomerate stones, imbedded very firmly into a lime-cement or mortar, pieces of which I found adhering to some of the constructive stones, and the masonry thus wrought necessitated a free use of the crowbar in its demolition; and it was only when this instrument[1] had been placed in the spaces afforded by crevices between the rocks, that they yielded to constant and vigorous oscillation.

Externally this stûpa is quite destitute of embellishments, having no ornamental cornices of pannelling of the kind

[1] The villagers' implements being inadequate to such work, I applied for, and obtained, through the courtesy of the Deputy Commissioner and the Executive Engineer of Military Works Division, Peshâwar, 150 excellent tools for excavation.

generally found in a more or less injured state on such buildings, and the appearance presented by the tope is merely that of a conoid, or semispherical, hill, 80 feet high from foot to summit, and 250 feet in diameter at base, or about 750 feet in circumference.

Dimensions of tope.

Owing to the material of which this monument is built, General Cunningham opines that it may have been the base, or foundation, of astill higher stûpa; but for the following reasons, I think it may, with comparative safety, be called a complete monument: firstly, because its excessive height alone would almost preclude the possibility of its being merely the base of a second stûpa, unless such superstructure were unprecedented in height; secondly, as the tope presents a true conoid form, and offers no plateau at summit upon which a second building could have stood.

Notwithstanding the resistance offered by the peculiarly tough masonry employed in this tope, I managed to excavate rather more than half—or from the summit of the stûpa to a little below its centre—before the weather set in too warm to permit me, with due attention to the safety of the labourers employed, to pursue the work to completion.

In order to avoid missing any deposit this cupola may have contained, I divided it into four equal parts by a cruciform arrangement of trenches 7 or 8 feet wide, extending right through the mound and crossing each other at its centre. These trenches, or roads, as before stated, were carried down to a depth of nearly 50 feet, or somewhat more than half the entire depth.

Excavation, &c.

Before closing operations here, two colossal male heads and one female head were exhumed. The larger of the former pair clearly represents Bûddha in the well-known form of split ears and abundant curly locks; the other male head, from its elaborate head-dress, I should take to be a portrait—most probably of a king. The female head is only remarkable for its excessive ugliness. All these sculptures I left in

Discoveries.

safe keeping at *Peshâwar*, as too unwieldy to remove. Some copper finger-rings were also found in this tope, but these are common to old buildings, and during my Trans-Indus excavations I found several.

I regret that no inscriptions were found here; but if, either by Sappers or others, the excavation of this mound is continued at some future time to the ground-level before which the deposit chamber (if any exist) will probably be reached, a larger share of success than I met with may reasonably be expected from such a work.

38.—RÛHMIA OR HAJI-SHÂH.

While in Peshâwar I heard from a camel-driver of an inscription near Haji-Shâh, and determined to examine it on my return journey eastward. My curiosity to see this inscription was considerably enhanced by the following strangely erroneous letter which lately appeared in the *Pioneer*, and to which my attention was drawn by General Cunningham:—

Rûhmia.

"Half a mile from Haji Shâh, on a large flat limestone rock in the river-bed, there are most curious outline engravings of deer-hunting, in which the cheetah plays an important part. Black buck and markhor seem to be the particular species pourtrayed, but it all belongs to a former world, and an older society than the present.

"Hard by is an ancient Büddhist well, now nearly filled up, and marked by an upright piece of granite, on the smooth surface of which are certain letters in the Aryan characters of the coins."

By "Aryan" is meant the characters on the coins of Menander and other kings which are not Greek, and certainly an inscription of this kind would have been a great treasure. But the inscription in question is merely a record in comparatively modern *Deva-Nâgari* characters, opening with an invocation to *Sri Vishnu*, as read by General Cunningham.

Inscription and engraving.

The primitive tracing of animals called above "deer" is certainly very curious, reminding one vividly of the early mammoth drawings. The human figures, if the signs intended to pourtray them may be so called, appear to oe

wholly undraped, and, together with the irrational animals of this rude diagram, are but faintly indicated in double lines on a piece of dark-coloured rock (apparently basalt) about 4 feet long by 3½ broad. The blows with which this design has been punched on to the stone have barely removed its surface, and hence I found it almost impossible to make out any portion of the design until the stone had been saturated with water. The rock bearing this old engraving is situated about 2 miles from the *Haji-Shâh* railway station, among the hills overlooking the sandy bed of a small river called *Prâtnadi*. The particular rock is known to the villagers by the name of *Dûgi-Jabi*.

Half a mile distant from the above is the old *Bûddhist* (?) well called by the peasantry *Jânavâli-Jabi*. This well is now filled with rubbish, and supports the inscribed and much mutilated stone before mentioned.

INDEX.



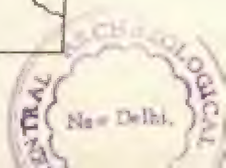
Govt. of India Central Printing Office.—No. 14 H. D.—23-3-85.—660.

MAP OF SHAHABAD.

GHAGHRA R.
GANGES R.
SON R.
KARUSHA-DESA OR SHAHABAD
MAGADHA OR BIHÂR
DINAPORE
ARRA
BUXAR
GHAZIPUR
GAYA
KARMANASA R.
Miles

A. Cunningham, del.

Lithographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, March 18





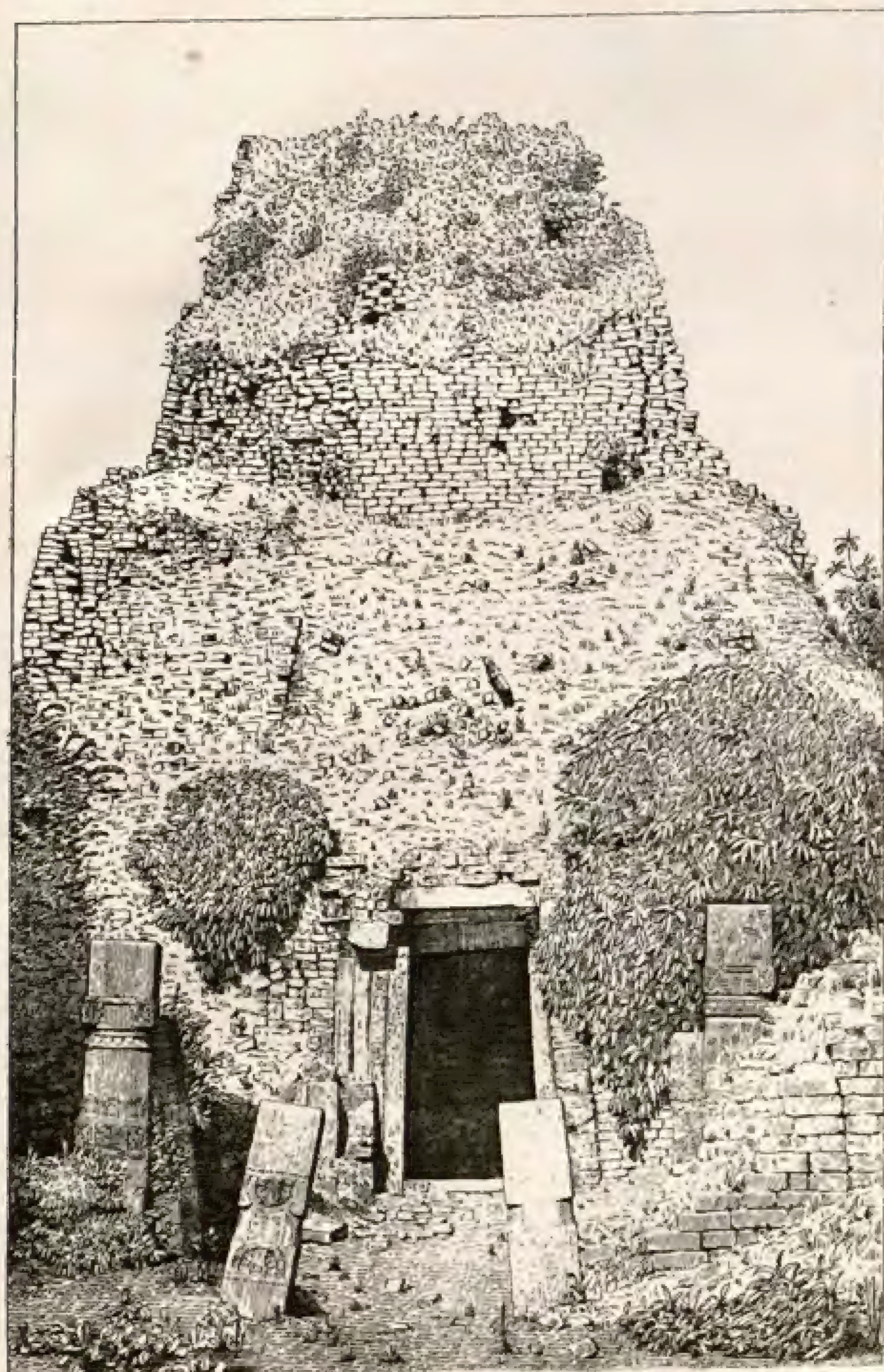
From a Photo. by H. B. W. Garrick.

Lithographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, March [illegible]



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Lithographed at the Survey of India Offices Calcutta, March [illegible]



TEMPLE A.

From a Photo

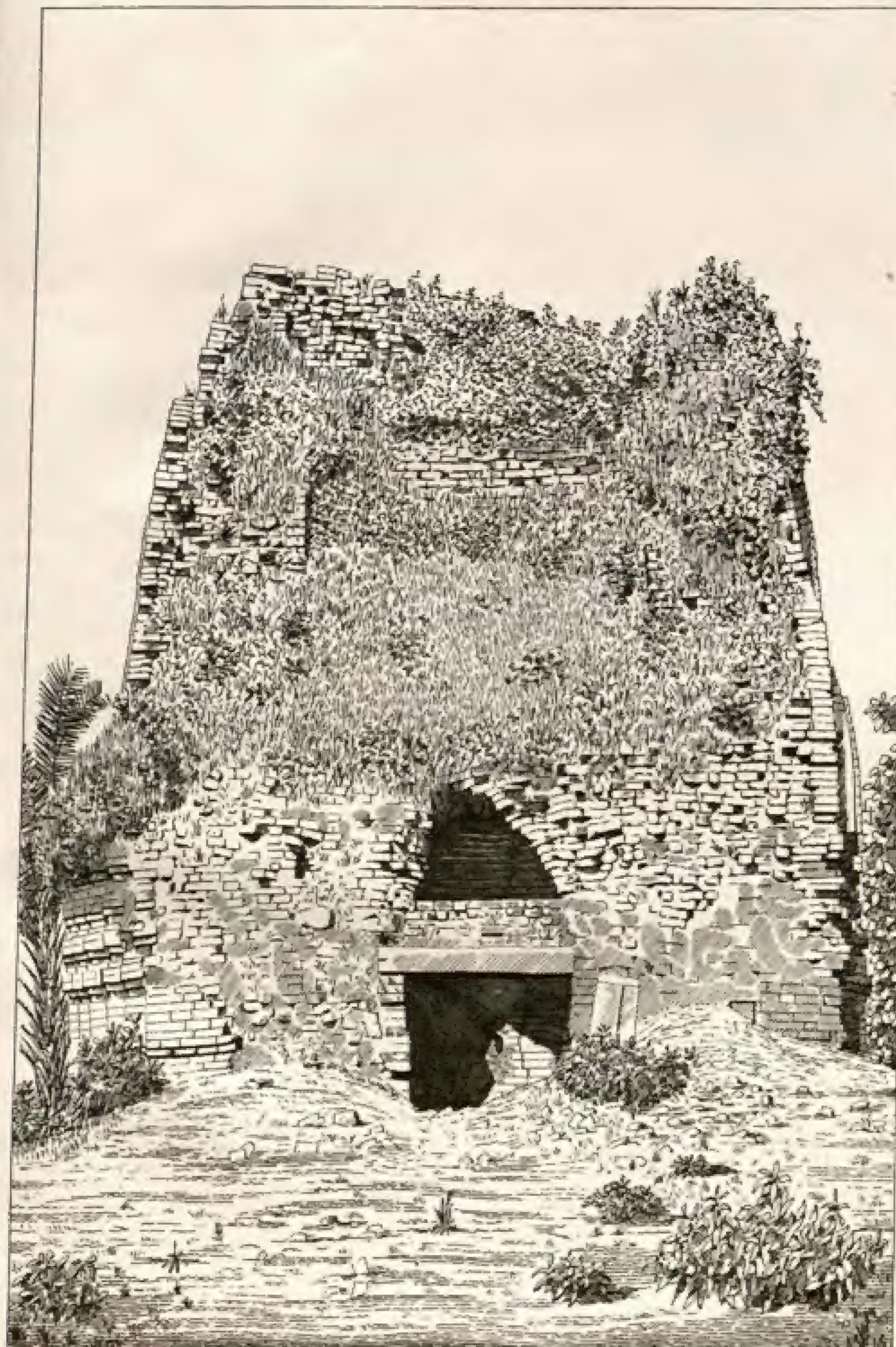
Lithographed at the Survey of India Offices Calcutta, March 188[illegible]



A. TEMPLE BACK. B. TEMPLES. F.

From a Photo by H. B. W. Garrick

Lithographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, March [illegible]



From a Photo. by H. B. W. Garrick,

Lithographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, March [illegible]



B. TEMPLE BACK.

From a Photo by H. B. W. Garrick.

Lithographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, March [illegible]



From a Photo. by H. B. W. Garrick

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From a Photo. by H. B. W. Garrick.

Lithographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, March 1886

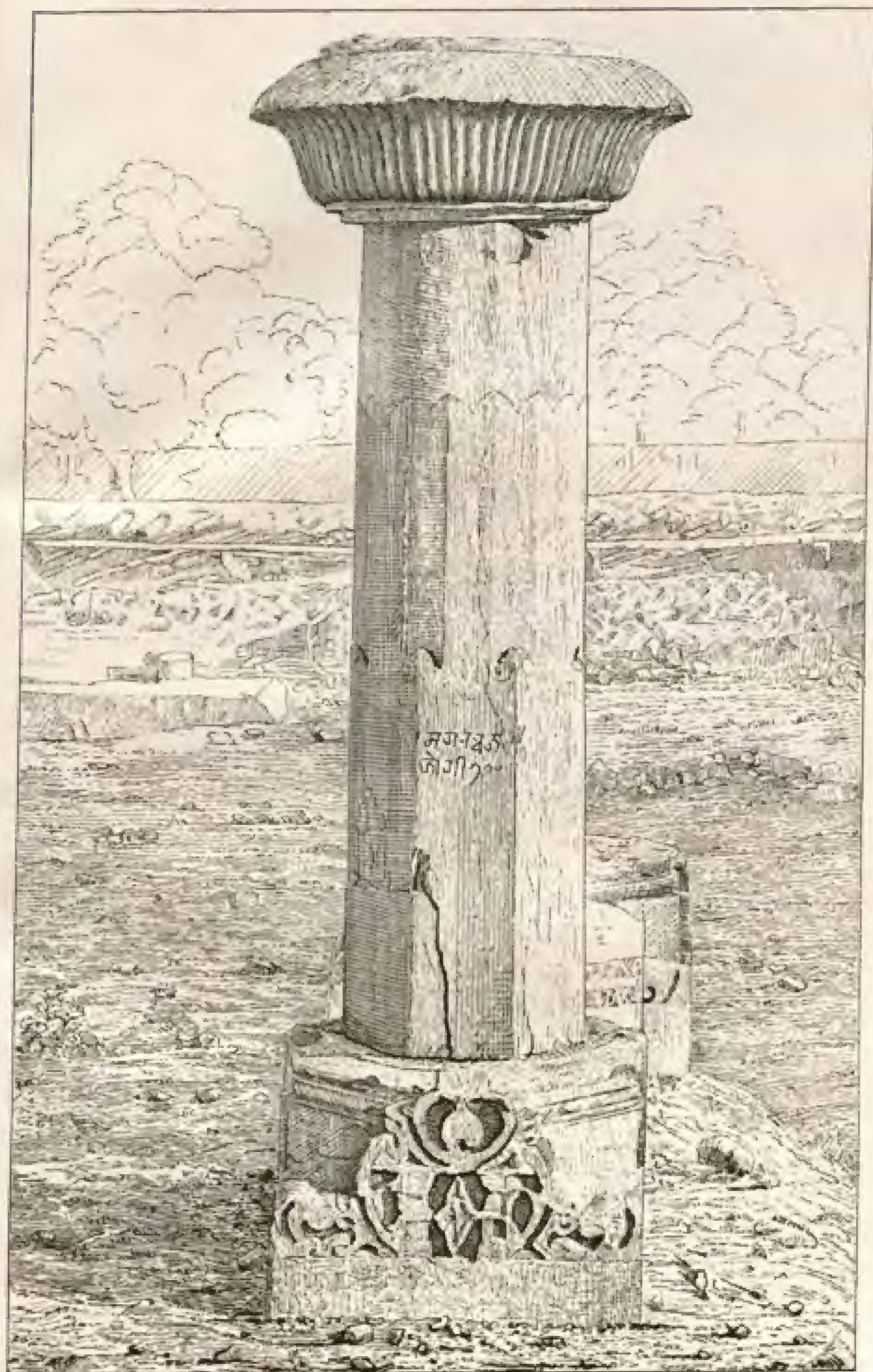
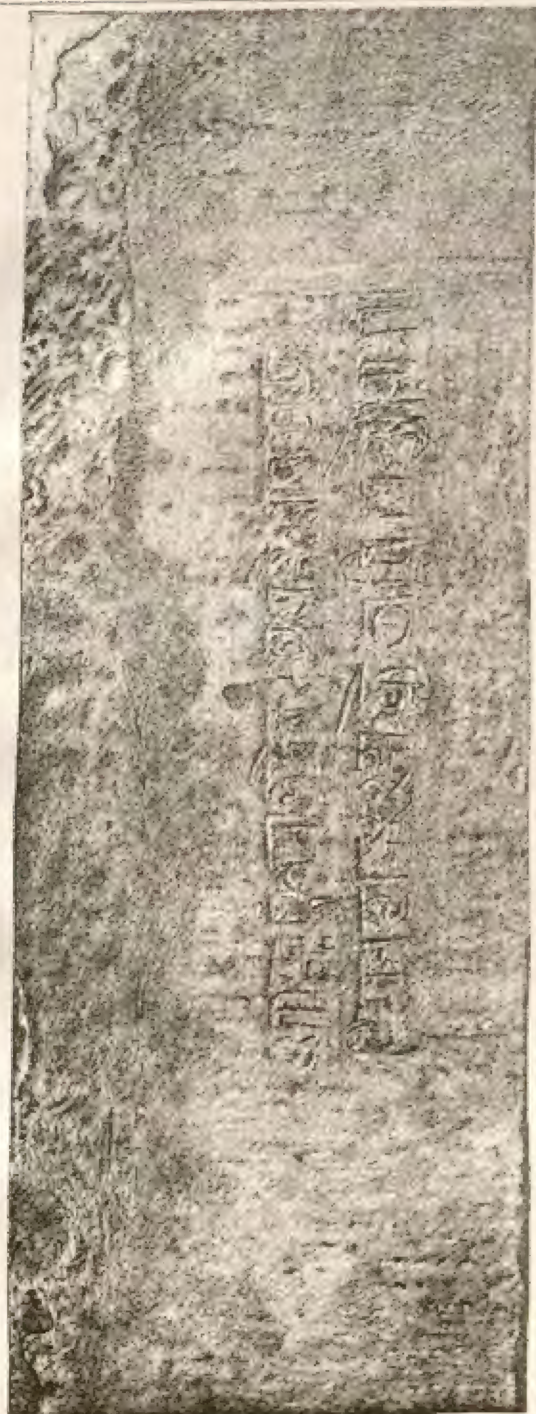


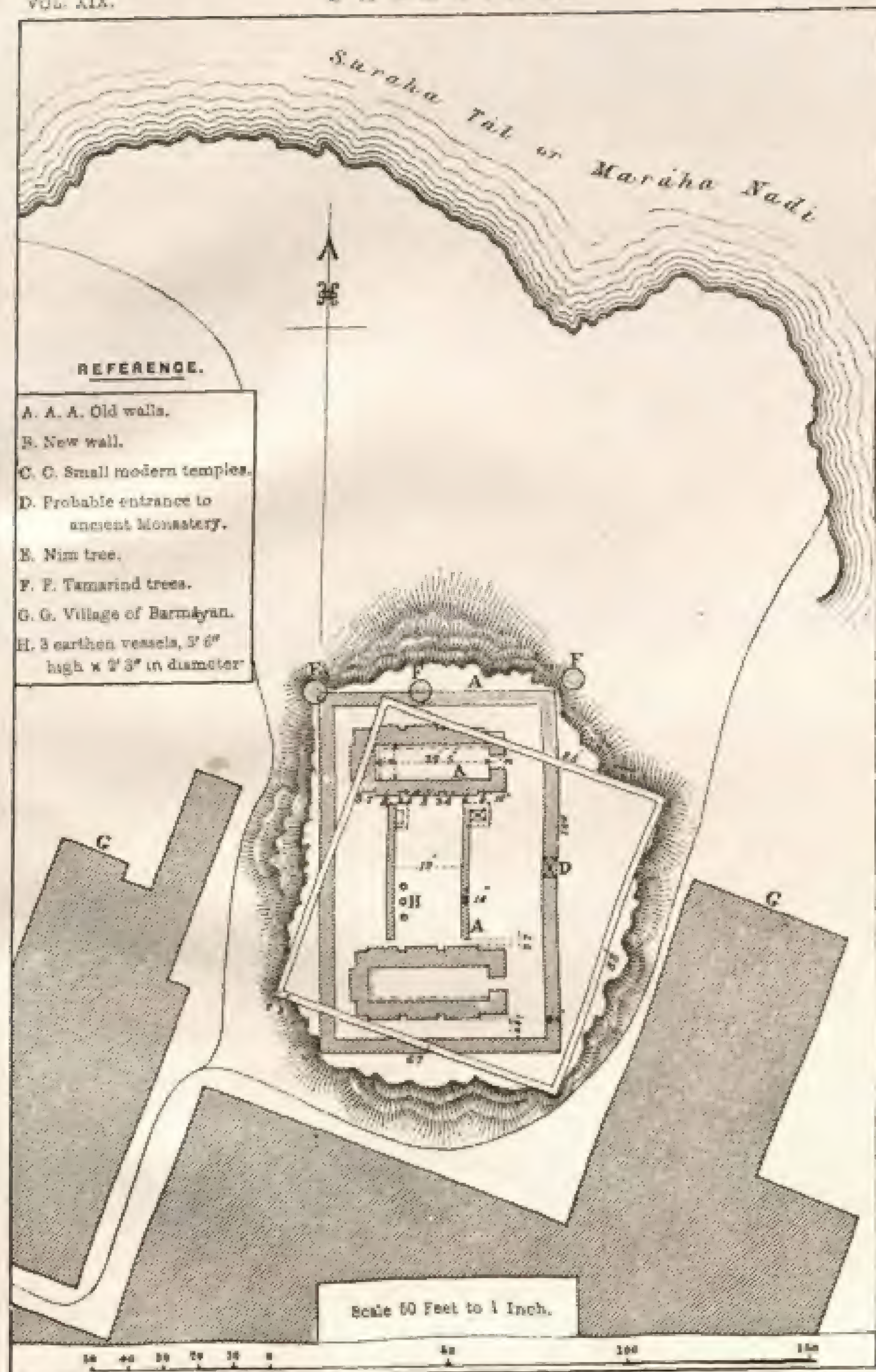
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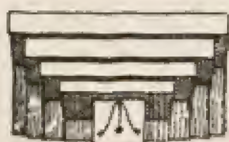
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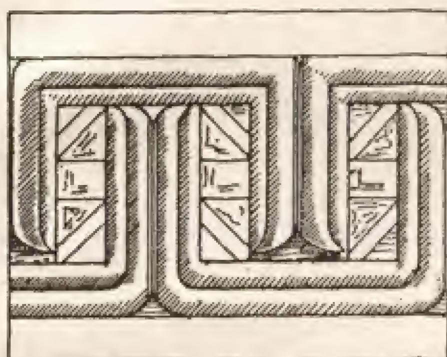
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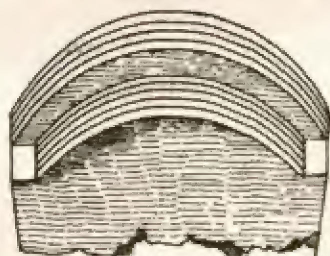
H. B. W. Garrick, del.

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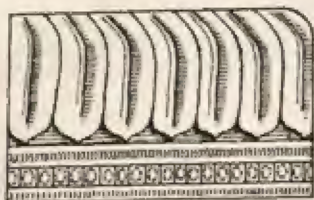


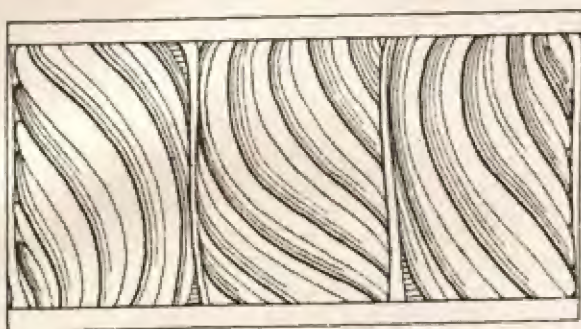




H. B. W. Garrick, del.

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H. B. W. Garrick, del.

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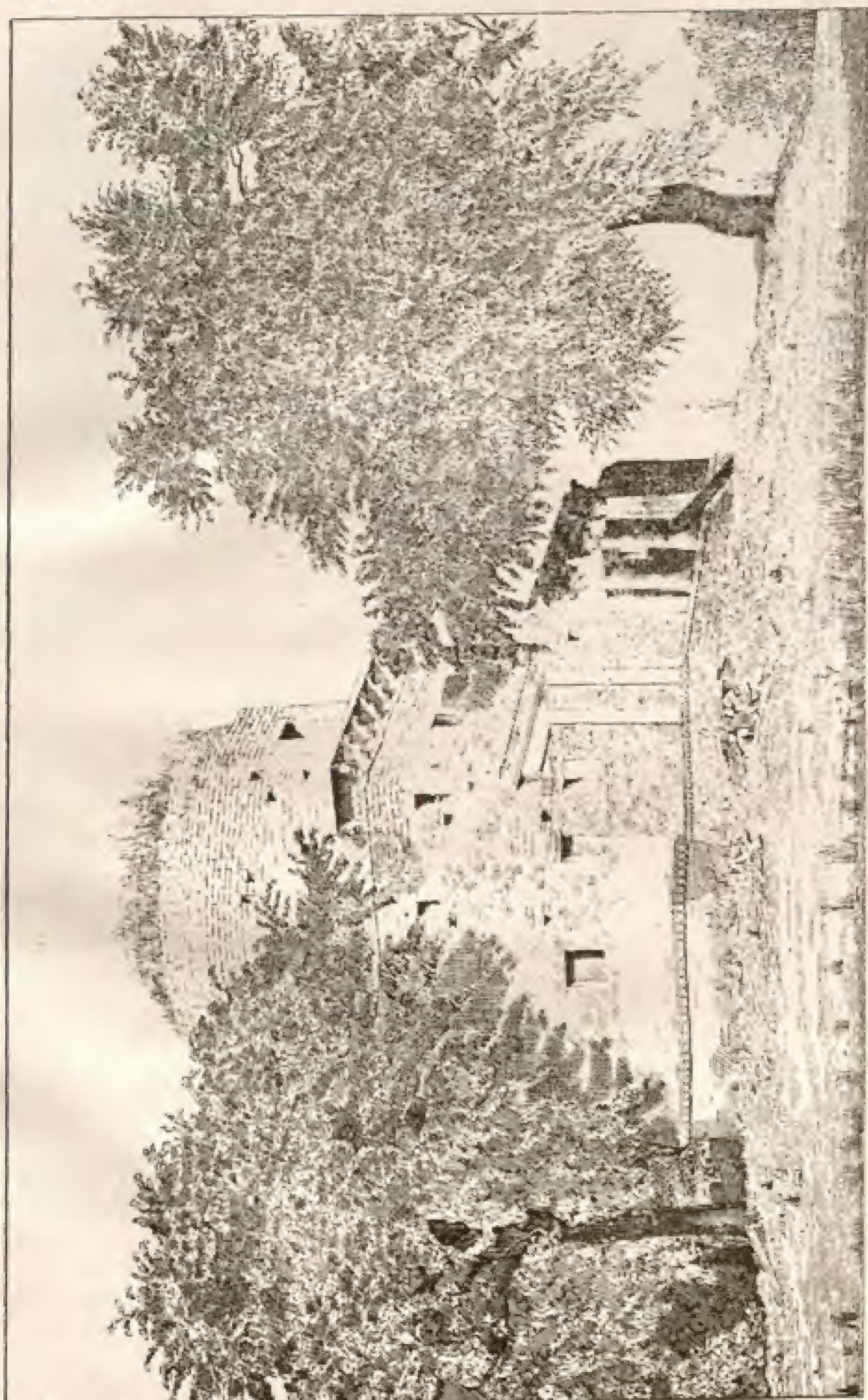
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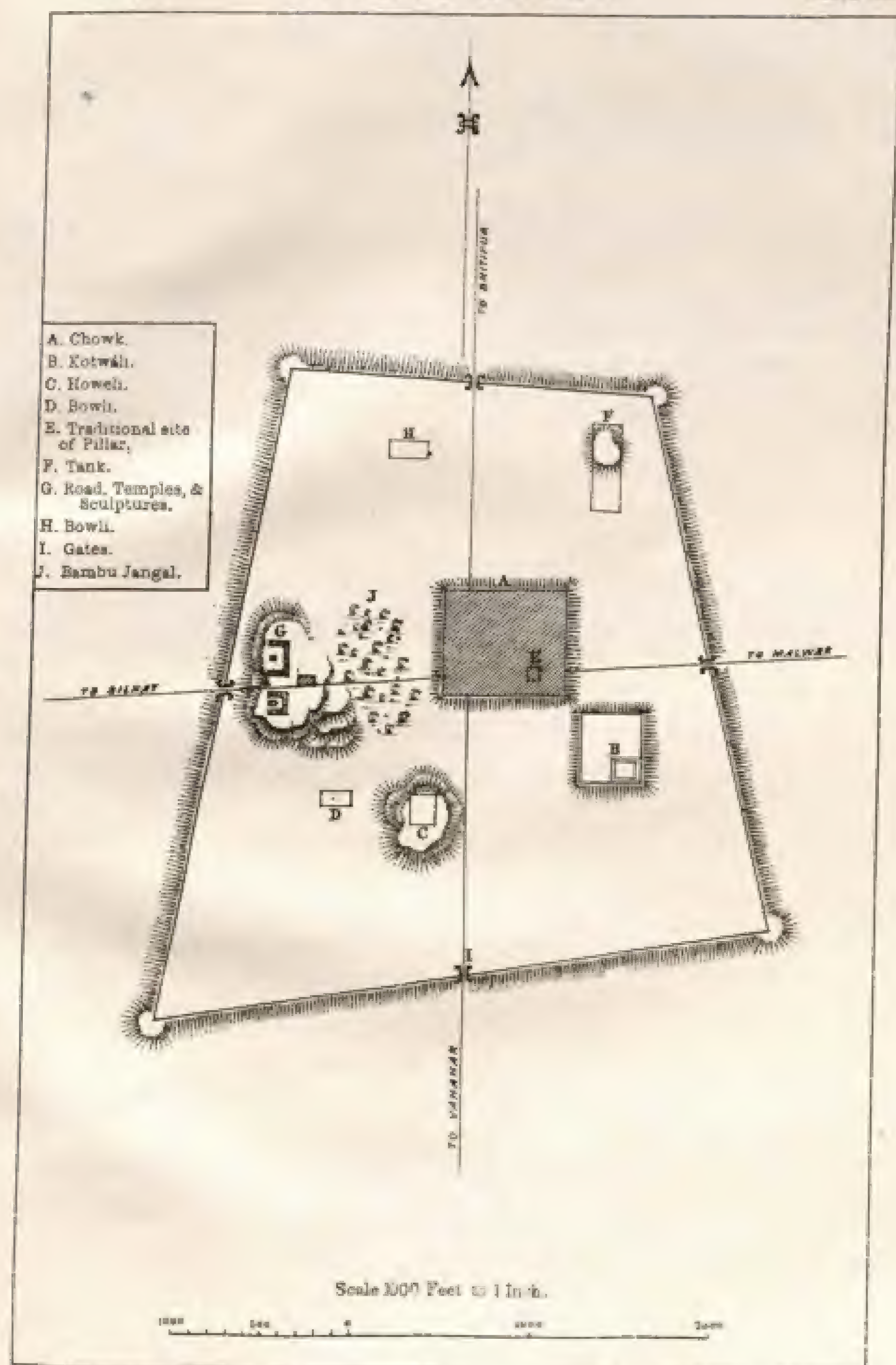
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GÛRGI-MÂSÂN.



H. B. W. Garrick, del.

Lithographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, March [illegible]

RUINED FORT
OF
BALA HISSAR

Much
Mediaeval Walling

A. Few unimportant
and comparatively
modern Remains

TO CHARSADA

REFERENCES

A. Raja's Palace
B. Harams
C. Baths
D. Barracks
E. Temple
F. Well
G. Treasury
H. Stables

H. B. W. Garrick, del.

Scale 300 Feet to 1 Inch.

300 250 200 150 100 50 0 300 600



TO CHĀRSADA

H. B. W. Garrick, del.

Lithographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, March 1885

